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**Minoan anthropomorphic figurines.**

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MINOAN ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

VOLUME I

MARIE-LOUISE COLLARD

A Thesis submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Ph.D in the faculty of Art's department of Classics and Archaeology.

April 1987

## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

NAME .. MARIE-LOUISE COLLARD .....  
(in full, block capitals)

TITLE OF DISSERTATION .....

..... MINOAN ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES .....

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Signed .. M L Glaser .....

Date .. 6/4/87 .....

## SYNOPSIS

The primary aim of this thesis was to classify existing figurines from the Minoan period (c.3000-1450 B.C.) into a suitable typology. Secondly, it was hoped that from such an approach new aspects of their interpretation could be brought to light. The thesis is divided into four parts, each dealing with a particular aspect of the research, and each subdivided into further chapters.

Part I lays the foundation for the research, examining previous studies of figurines in their various aspects and the theory and development of typologies for use in research. This is followed by the establishment of a typological framework for the material in question, and a chronological scale as part of that typology.

Part II investigates problems inherent in this kind of research, and then sets out the contextual evidence of the figurines. In addition, the variety of materials used for the figurines is examined.

Part III provides the main catalogue of the figurines within their various type-groups, and set within the three main chronological groups of the Pre-, Proto- and Neo-palatial periods.

Finally, Part IV, in dealing with the interpretations and conclusions focuses on two main aspects; firstly, the wider interpretation of the figurines as seen in the contextual evidence, and including their geographical location; secondly, the more detailed interpretation of the figurines themselves, including the significance of their basic forms, the sexes, gestures, postures, dress and adornments. In this way it was hoped that a fuller interpretation of the figurines and their place in Minoan society may be attained.

The limits on availability of material were a factor in the scope of the thesis, but it is hoped that the sample is sufficiently large and the typology therefore adequate.



**TO JAMES CUBITT**  
**ARCHITECT & ARTIST**  
**1914-1983**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following persons for their assistance in enabling me to see material during the course of my research from October 1982 - September 1986: Dr. H.W. Catling, Director of the British School at Athens; Professor N. Platon and his son, Lefteris Platon; Dr K. Davaras, former Director of the Archaeological Museum at Agios Nikolaos in Crete; Dr. I. Sakellarakis, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Herakleion in Crete; Alexandra Karetsou and many of the guards at the museum; Mr N. Papadakis, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Siteia in Crete; Professor Miller, Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens; Professor A. Di Vita, Director of the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens; Monsieur Picard, Director of the French School of Archaeology in Athens; Professor Poursat for his assistance with the Quartier Mu figurines at Mallia, and Michael Vickers of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

I would also like to thank Dr Andonis Zoes and Angela Tamvaki for their advice, and in particular Professor Peter Ucko of Southampton University; Jochen Weichen and Hannia Salter-Dvorak for their invaluable assistance with German and Polish translations respectively; Frances Bond for her typing and BCP for its support; Jane Bircher for her assistance in proof reading, and my Supervisor Professor Peter Warren for his guidance.

Finally I must thank my family, particularly my mother for her continued support, my father without whose financial assistance I would not have been able to submit this thesis, and Tim for his patience and support.

DECLARATION

This thesis was the undersigned candidates own work. Any assistance or guidance has been acknowledged throughout at the relevant points.

candidates signature

M. L. G. ...

## MINOAN ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

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## Abbreviations

## 1. Periodicals and series

AA	<u>Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin</u>
AAA	<u>Ἀρχαιολογικά ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, Athens</u> (Athens Annals of Archaeology)
A. Deltion	<u>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, Athens</u>
AE	<u>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς, Athens</u>
AJA	<u>American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton, New Jersey</u>
AK	<u>Antike Kunst, Berlin</u>
Ath.Mitt.	<u>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, Berlin.</u>
Annuario	<u>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene, Bergamo</u>
AR	<u>Archaeological Reports, London</u>
Arch.Hom.	<u>Archaeologia Homerica, ed. by F.Matz and H.G. Buchholz, vols. 1-3, Göttingen, 1967-</u>
BA	<u>Bolletino d'Arte, Rome</u>
BCH	<u>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique, Paris</u>
BICS	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London</u>
BMFAB	<u>Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</u>
BSA	<u>Annual of the British School at Athens, London</u>
CMS	<u>Corpus des minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, ed. by F. Matz and I. Pini, vol. I-XII, Berlin, 1964 -</u>
Ergon	<u>Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Athens</u>
Et.Cret.	<u>Études crétoises, Paris</u>
HESPERIA	<u>Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, New York</u>
ILN	<u>Illustrated London News, London</u>
IPEK	<u>Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst, Berlin</u>
JDI	<u>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin</u>
JHS	<u>The Journal of Hellenic Studies, London</u>



- Kr.Chr. κρητικά χρονικά, Herakleion
- Mon.Ant. Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per Cura della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Milan.
- Museo Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica, Naples
- Opus.Ath. Opuscula Atheniensia, Lund
- PAE Πρακτικά της "Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Athens.
- Pepragmena Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Α' / Β' Διεθνoῦς κρητολογικoῦ Συνεδρίου 1968-73 (Cretological Congress), Athens
- PM Palace of Minos, by Sir A. Evans, vols. 1-4, 1921-1935, London
- PPS Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society, Cambridge
- RA Revue Archéologique, Paris
- SMEA Studi Micenei ed Egeo - Anatolici, Rome
- Museums**
- AM Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
- ANM Archaeological Museum, Agios Nikolaos, Crete
- HM Archaeological Museum, Herakleion, Crete
- SM Archaeological Museum, Siteia, Crete
- NM National Museum, Athens
- SMK Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, Crete
- FSM French School Apotheke, Mallia, Crete
- Books and articles**
- CCO The Cretan Collection in Oxford, J. Boardman, Oxford, 1961
- Gournia Gournia, Vasiliki, and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete. H. Boyd Hawes, B.E. Williams, R.B. Seager and E.H. Hall. Philadelphia 1908.
- Kunst der Kyk. Kunst und Kultur der Kykladensinseln. I. Sakellarakis, 1976
- MMR The Minoan-Mycenaeen Religion and its Survival in the Greek Religion. M.P. Nilsson, 2nd. Ed. Lund, 1950

- RGPT      The Religion of Greece in Prehistoric Times. A. Persson.  
Berkeley, 1942.
- VTM      The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara. S. Xanthoudides, London,  
1924.

## MINOAN ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

### PART I

#### CHAPTER 1. PREVIOUS STUDIES AND RESEARCH

Anthropomorphic figurines first came to light in excavations of Minoan sites in Crete at the beginning of this century.<sup>1</sup> Ever since, there has been much discussion and interest shown in their interpretation, particularly as they were seen to be a key element in our understanding of the religion of this period in Cretan history (and here I refer to the period which followed the end of the Neolithic, and ended with the destruction of the second palaces in 1450 B.C.<sup>2</sup>). The literature that has been produced is varied both in content and extent, in accordance with the particular aims of the authors concerned. This chapter attempts to examine that literature, restricting itself to the Bronze Age Minoan period and by dividing the literature into the following categories, which will be discussed individually:

- (a) As part of archaeological reports on specific sites.<sup>3</sup>
- (b) As part of general surveys on prehistoric Greece or Crete.<sup>4</sup>
- (c) As part of discussions on Minoan religion and society, or selected topics within these contexts.<sup>5</sup>
- (d) Articles on specific figurine groups within particular periods, or as one identified type of figurine covering a range of periods.<sup>6</sup>
- (e) Guides and handbooks.

Whilst attempts at interpretations are made throughout the literature and various conclusions are drawn, most works have not attempted to tackle the complex problem of forming a typology for the figurines

of the Minoan period, or a full examination of their contextual evidence. The bases for interpretation remain, at times, dubious and with insufficient foundation, as we shall see.

(a) Discussion of figurines as part of archaeological reports on specific sites varies considerably, particularly in detail. It may comprise simply a descriptive list with a brief attempt at interpretation at the end;<sup>7</sup> it may include a selection only of the most noteworthy examples as viewed by the author,<sup>8</sup> or be a lengthy discussion on context, types, dress and method of manufacture, with a separate section on interpretation, where the number found warranted such an account. This is the case at the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha excavated by Myres as early as 1902.<sup>9</sup> Xanthoudides, in spite of his pioneering work and contribution to the subject in his report on the excavations of the tombs of the Mesara,<sup>10</sup> described only a selection of figurines together with their measurements, but without adequate detail of their location and context. This did not prevent his interpretation of them,<sup>11</sup> 'The simplest and perhaps most probable hypothesis sees in them the Mother Goddess worshipped in Crete and the Aegean. The likeness of the goddess "would have been placed in the tomb that she might protect the dead in the underworld as she protected him in his life on earth'. Even if we were to take this 'hypothesis' as 'probable' it is based on insufficient evidence.

(b) In general surveys of prehistoric Greece or Crete figurines invariably feature in the form of a general account of a few of the basic, easily recognisable types and an attempt at interpretation throughout all the Minoan periods.<sup>12</sup> Hood's section on 'sculpture' in the 'Arts of prehistoric Greece'<sup>13</sup> is informative as to the techniques of manufacture and decoration of Minoan figurines, and covers a wide



range. Whilst primary emphasis is placed on the development of this particular art, Hood concludes in his interpretation of them that they 'were evidently made as votives, and many represent worshippers, both men and women ...'.

In Zervos' 'L'art de le Crète, Néolithique et Minoenne', his extensive photographic collection of figurines is to be viewed mainly within the wider historical perspective of the art of Crete during this period. Within this art the figurines are related to two central themes: firstly, as part of the evidence for cultural contacts between Crete and her neighbouring countries in the Mediterranean<sup>14</sup> and secondly, as part of the evidence for establishing that Minoan religion was not aniconic.

With regard to the former, Zervos cites such examples as the early Minoan figurines from the tombs of the Mesara and their connection to Pre-dynastic figurines from Egypt.<sup>15</sup> This comparative study extends through the Minoan periods as seen by his comparison between a figurine from Patsos<sup>16</sup> and one with identical gestures from Sardinia.<sup>17</sup> To the second theme he describes those first representations (as he sees them) of the goddess in human form, such as is found in the figurines from the tombs of Mesara.<sup>18</sup>

This practice he traces throughout the Minoan periods and concludes that even when the 'Great Goddess' (la Grande Deesse) is increasingly associated with emblems, she still retains her anthropomorphic aspect. Such symbolism as is reflected in emblems relates to her function in vegetation, astral cycles and with animals and humans alike. Zervos does not believe that there is any representation of a male god in three dimensional form or otherwise.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, it was her representation in the image of 'woman' that

was vital and helps clarify that the cult of the Minoans was not aniconic: it was not merely her more abstract symbolic role that was cherished.

In 'Crete and Early Greece' (1965) F. Matz is concerned with the 'arts' of the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. Figurines are used only to further our understanding of the artistic and technical achievements of craftsmen within particular periods of their development. Whilst this is an important aspect to consider, treated in isolation it may detract from any other interpretation that may be revealed when discussed in association with other equally valid factors (context, for instance). In addition, Matz only used a few select examples. Whilst admitting that 'an abundance of sculpture is found only in Crete',<sup>20</sup> (in the Early Minoan period) he goes on to discuss seals with no further discussion of the figurines of this period. In his section on 'sculpture'<sup>21</sup> in 'The Age of Maturity' (Minoan style in the palace period) the female faience figure<sup>22</sup> is discussed both as a votive figure and in terms of its artistic merits.

'... plasticity and dynamism are still hampered by the decorative element, especially by the flatness of the lower part of the symmetrical structure. But by comparison with figures from the Pre-palatial era the form is balanced and sure'.

There is not, however, any discussion of Pre-palatial figurines.

The ivory figure of an acrobat is the second example used '... chosen to illustrate the Minoan's talent for the representation of movement ...'. This concludes the section on sculpture for this period.

This art-historical approach was previously adopted by Hutchinson

in his survey of Prehistoric Crete (1963)<sup>23</sup> when discussing 'figures in the round'. He finds few examples of figurines of any importance from the Middle Minoan period, regarding the MM I figures from 'peak sanctuaries' as 'cheaper forms' of this particular art.<sup>24</sup> Early Minoan figurines are only mentioned briefly within the context of the development of technical processes in art, and evidence for cultural contacts with the other areas of the Mediterranean. Hutchinson views many of the Cycladic-type figurines as imports, whilst other types of figurines made of ivory, although importing the material from areas like Syria, retain a 'purely Minoan style'.<sup>25</sup> The so-called 'Snake-Goddess' from Knossos inevitably features in the discussion of Minoan religion (and more particularly that of the 'Snake or Household Goddess',<sup>26</sup>).

Because of the general nature of these studies a more detailed analysis and description of Minoan figurines has not been possible at any stage. The result has been a scanty selection of the most noteworthy examples, which in most cases have been the most 'atypical' forms of this art, and hence when discussed in isolation can result in misleading interpretations as to the nature of figurines in any one of the Minoan periods.

(c) As part of discussion on Minoan religion and society, figurines have played an important role in the identification of 'cult' areas, rooms and shrines, and in increasing our understanding of Minoan society

H. Prinz's 'Bemerkungen zur altkretischen Religion',<sup>27</sup> as early as 1910, concentrated on identifying the various gods and goddesses as represented in figurines and representations of figures. He clearly does not believe in the concept of monotheism in the religion of the



Minoan and Mycenaean periods and sees no evidence to support such a notion. As a comparison Prinz cites the religion of Asia Minor and relates his 'mother of the mountains and lions' goddess<sup>28</sup> as coming from there to Crete. Prinz identifies a Goddess characterized by the clutching of her breast;<sup>29</sup> a goddess associated with a 'dove';<sup>30</sup> one with 'snakes';<sup>31</sup> one with lions and finally a goddess with flowers.<sup>32</sup> Apart from Type III, the goddess 'with snakes', most of his examples refer to the Late Minoan II, III and Mycenaean periods. To type III he attributes the so-called 'Snake-Goddess' from the Temple Repositories at Knossos. His argument is not adequate<sup>ly</sup> substantiated however, and he gives few examples, perhaps attributable to the early date of publication and lack of current evidence.

Nilsson (1950)<sup>33</sup> in his chapter on 'Idols and Cult Idols' uses the material to further his investigations of Minoan and Mycenaean religion, their connections and differences, and to try and establish whether we are dealing with monotheism or polytheism. But his interpretation of the material precedes his investigation of it, as we see from the first paragraph.<sup>34</sup>

'It must be kept well in mind that the monuments to be discussed here are divided into two classes: on the one hand actual 'cult idols': on the other representations of gods and 'genii' ... The evidence for the first class is wholly reliable as far as it can be understood without the aid of hypothesis'.

His single aim is quite clear and his statements lack adequate explanation. In his discussion of their 'attitudes' Nilsson concludes that they were 'various' and that one could not deduce

what their 'character' was from this, 'i.e. whether they represent deities or not, and concerning the figures which for other reasons must represent a goddess viz. the bell-shaped idols, it is likewise impossible to infer from their attitudes what the nature of the goddess may have been'. Nilsson was certainly correct in placing his emphasis on the examination of actual finds associated with Minoan and Mycenaean civilization, though his systematic arrangement of them (as seen in his chapters) was based on presuppositions as to their interpretation. More importantly, his analysis of the material was insufficient.

The excellent contribution made by F. Matz in Göttererschönung und Kultbild in Minoischen Kreta (1958)<sup>35</sup> to our understanding of Minoan religion and society is far more instructive. Matz makes a clear distinction between what he regards as the earlier votive statuettes and those later bell-shaped idols which were in all probability cult-images.<sup>36</sup> The contextual evidence provided for these earlier figurines, he believes - particularly those from the tholoi and the peak sanctuaries - confirm this interpretation, in addition to their gestures of 'adoration'.<sup>37</sup> Matz stresses that the forms and gestures of the later bell-shaped idols were quite different from the earlier figurines, thus intimating that there may not have been precursors, amongst them, but that the later idols reflected new influences and ideas. Matz is a strong exponent of the concept of an 'epiphany' in Minoan religion, to the exclusion of cult images during the earlier periods preceding the LM Ib destruction. This is confirmed by the lack of cult rooms, cult images, the iconographic evidence and the large number of votive figurines in areas designated as religious sanctuaries but absent of cult images. The faience figurines from Knossos,<sup>38</sup>

must be included within this framework and regarded as votive objects themselves, even if they represent a snake-goddess, a priestess, or a person of cult importance who dressed up as a goddess during a cult ritual and was perhaps even worshipped in front of a congregation as such.

Matz believed that an epiphany was achieved as a result of the cult congregation and their prayer.<sup>39</sup> She then appeared as either human, dove or goddess. The cult images of the Later Minoan periods, seen in the bell-shaped idols, may well have developed from the realization of the concept of epiphany in three-dimensional form. Their large numbers can be attributed to the fact that when the goddess appeared these were only fleeting images and thus many appearances were made and these were represented by the presence of many figurines. Thus the motives behind the cult idols of the latest Minoan periods stem from a belief in the epiphany which revealed the goddess in an 'agitated' posture.<sup>40</sup> However, the degree to which this can be traced in the earlier Minoan periods is only reflected in the iconographic evidence and not in three dimensional form.

A different and valuable perspective is presented to us much later by E. Brandt in 'Grüss und Gebet' (1965).<sup>41</sup> The study is concerned with the identification and interpretation of human forms seen with repeated gestures in Minoan and Mycenaean glyptic. Brandt regards these 'images' as our only form of 'written' evidence with regard to the religion and cult practices for these periods.<sup>42</sup> In the course of her discussion she uses figurines to complement and support the evidence for gestures seen on seals and their meaning, and thus aid her interpretations.<sup>43</sup> Whilst concentrating mainly on the figures with 'upraised arms' attributed to the the Later Minoan periods,



she traces briefly their origin in those figurines from the Middle Minoan period. Within this she draws a distinction between later 'idols' and earlier 'votive statuettes' and between the 'language of gestures' in both, and the wider meaning of figurines as more readily interpreted by their context.<sup>44</sup> She identifies a variety of gestures, and suggests their possible meaning with a strong emphasis on dance rituals in both secular and religious spheres,<sup>45</sup> though she does not discount the possibility that they were mere formalities without any specific meaning. Like Nilsson, Brandt concludes that from gesture alone it is impossible to deduce the nature of the figurines - that is whether the represented figure is human or divine: it is dependent on their associated attributes and whether (in her opinion) the figure is seated or not.<sup>46</sup> She stresses that the visualization of the god by the worshipper is in the image of man with his gestures, so how can one distinguish man from god? However, Brandt does not hesitate to identify certain figures as goddesses and others as worshippers in glyptic, thus differentiating status when there is not always sufficient evidence for doing so.<sup>47</sup>

Concentrating on a more detailed aspect of Minoan religion and society, Ingo Pini presents us with a short section on the Early Minoan figurines from tombs in his more general chapter on 'artefacts and burial rites',<sup>48</sup> in 'Beitrage zur minoischen Gräberkunde' (1968). He is primarily interested in Minoan grave types and with their contents with a view to interpreting death rites, funeral rites, the death cult and the overall religion of the period. Figurines feature as part of the evidence for his discussions and interpretations but because of their relative scarcity they do not feature prominently.<sup>49</sup> He distinguishes two types: (a) those from the Cyclades, both imported and native imitations and (b) those of

clay, ivory and stone which are of definite Cretan origin. To the former he agrees with Matz that it would be a mistake to regard them as cult images, although there must have been an element of magic involved.<sup>50</sup> The Cretan idols, in contrast to the Cycladic types, probably had a different cultural significance, however, and are more closely related in style and meaning to the figurines of the succeeding Minoan periods. The importance of this study is that these figurines are seen within their proper context and discussed as part of their general assemblage where their significance and use can be better understood. Its limitation is only that it is a brief and general description without any specific references or types being drawn within the two categories. The votive intent of the figurines together with their significance as personal effects is stressed in their interpretation.

The study of figurines within particular contexts has proved of undoubted value. Branigan, like Pini, has concerned himself with 'grave goods' in 'The Tombs of Mesara' (1970). Branigan is correct in identifying the problems of the interpretation of figurines in tombs<sup>51</sup> because 'of the rarity of excavated Early Bronze Age settlements' thus making examples 'from tombs more numerous than those from houses'. He stresses the insufficient evidence of their contexts, the disturbed nature of levels due to previous looting, but he does attempt to categorize them into broad type groups. Firstly, he discusses the Cycladic series,<sup>52</sup> the majority of which are native products; secondly, those 'with only schematic renderings of the torso and with rounded or pointed bases' and thirdly, those which 'attempt to show the human body in a realistic manner.'<sup>53</sup> Apart from seeing these figurines as 'common to both funerary and domestic de-

posits ... and that it was regular practice to bury these figurines with their owners', Branigan does not expand much further in his interpretations than his inclusion of them as 'personal effects'.

Tyree had produced a detailed examination of all the figurines found within a totally different context: namely, in her 'Cretan Sacred Caves' (1974).<sup>54</sup> Included in this study are details of measurements, decoration, dress, anatomical detail, posture, gesture, fabric and approximate dates as part of her 'Survey on cult offerings and furniture'. She, too, highlights the problems: none of the caves have been fully published and usually stratigraphy was so mixed that 'finds were merely listed without any mention of context or precise dating'. Her interpretation of the figurines is dealt with after examination of the general 'assemblages' in the caves. This is done in a chronological order with a separate discussion on the use and significance of the figurines in themselves and as part of their assemblages. She concludes that all human figurines ... 'depict a standing worshipping man or woman',<sup>55</sup> and brings to the foreground a number of interesting points from her survey of them. For instance, that female figurines which have survived from the period MMIII- LMI are all bronzes and found from one cave only,<sup>56</sup> and male figurines occur twice as frequently and from five different caves, emphasising the use of such an analysis, and its possibilities in terms of interpretation (for instance the role of the 'male' during this period - whether his predominance reflected in the figurines indicates a male divinity or perhaps is more indicative of the nature of the worshippers or worship in caves).

After further examination and cataloguing of the evidence, Tyree suggests that the 'different offerings in different caves' indicate

that the 'deity venerated varied from cave to cave'.<sup>57</sup> Thus the figurines found in the lower chamber of Psychro, together with bronze double axes, real weapons and miscellaneous objects (including tweezers, razors, chisels and sealstones) suggest a war deity and protector of welfare, fecundity and the livelihood of the individual.<sup>58</sup> Where, however, numerous bowls, cups, jugs, jars, pithoi and fruitstands for food and liquid offerings have been located with figurines, fertility of vegetation and a vegetation deity are suggested. This is the case at the Idaean cave and Skoteino for instance, in the Late Minoan period. So we see in the cult of the cave 'an agricultural deity who also becomes protector of the welfare, and perhaps the fecundity of the individual person'.<sup>59</sup>

Rutkowski's 'Cult Places in the Aegean World' (1972), includes a number of discussions on figurines.<sup>60</sup> His invaluable work is concerned with the examination of and evidence for different types of cults, their locations, their place in Minoan religion and society together with their development during the Bronze Age. Figurines feature as part of the evidence and discussion as apposed to an objective study in themselves. He suggests, with reference to peak sanctuaries, that the general character of the divinity may be grasped, amongst other things, by 'the kind of offerings brought to the holy place ... the god ensured the lives and welfare of man ... this aspect is quite evident when we examine the votive offerings, and above all, the clay (or bronze) figurines representing man and woman in supplicating attitudes. It is clear that these humans are making pleas to the divinity commending themselves to the god's care and reminding him of their existence and needs ...'. A brief examinations of such figurines is included,<sup>61</sup>



but there is no adequate explanation as to why their attitudes represent 'supplication' nor why it should be 'clear' that they are 'making pleas' to the divinity in question. Rutkowski's revised edition of the above book, re-named The Cult Places of the Aegean (1986), whilst covering the same field as the previous edition, includes a much enlarged coverage of the material and revision of existing sites, site plans and reconstructions.

(d) Articles on specific figurine groups, either within a particular period or one identified type covering a range of periods have increased in popularity in recent years. Müller's early study (1929) 'Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien' provided us with the first synthesis and discussion on the development of the anthropomorphic figurines known, from the Neolithic through to the later Minoan periods. Since that time many more figurines have come to light but his early observations are still valid.<sup>62</sup> In his chapter on primitive style in the Early Aegean and Asia Minor, for instance, he correctly stresses the two types of representation evident in early plastic art: namely 'naturalistic' and 'schematic' and discusses how these forms developed from their Neolithic predecessors.<sup>63</sup>

Müller sees the difference between the Early Minoan figurines and the Neolithic ones as being represented by the abandonment of the 'fatness' in the latter types for an attempt at a more real human form in the former figurines: here the simplicity of the contours is seen in combination with the ability to schematize.<sup>64</sup> Müller's study is a morphological one: he sees the proportions of the body being rendered in different ways from one period to the next. The Early Minoan period witnesses in the figurines a more compact and homogeneous unity where not only curvature is all important but the

extension of the lower half is transformed into a bell-shaped skirt for the depiction of females.<sup>65</sup> It is not until after the MMI period, however, that Müller accepts the 'dressed' feminine figure in Cretan art as really blooming. This can be seen in combination with the articulation of the arms in a variety of gestures, greater detail in dress and facial features and a much more three-dimensional appearance. He stresses, however, that the anatomical form is covered by clothing and painting thus giving no real idea of the whole body structure: what is emphasised is the bell-form of the skirts.<sup>66</sup>

By the time of the faience figurines from Knossos dated to MMII, Müller sees evidence for richer modelling and greater attention to the idea of 'realism'. Instead of the simpler and quieter curvature of earlier periods he identifies fresher and sharper contour lines even though the understanding of the body form as a whole is little changed. This culminates in the bronze figurines of the later Minoan periods where in many cases there is evidence of quite astonishing anatomical realism.<sup>67</sup>

The value of Müller's earlier study does not end with the light it sheds on the development of figurines within Crete, but continues with an insight into the contemporary figurines from the Aegean and Asia Minor, thus enabling us to see the former within their wider context.<sup>68</sup> The extent of the survey does impose limitations on the amount of detail possible, and only select examples are chosen from the number known at that time. Müller's insight into the development of the human form through the periods, however, remains valid and valuable today.

Clelia Laviosa's study on the 'Minoan origin of Mycenaean plastic art'<sup>69</sup> (Origini minoiche della plastica micenea, 1968)

attempts to trace the development and transformation of figurines from the Proto-palatial period to the end of LMIII and on to the Mycenaean mainland. Some attention is given to the statues from Keos and their antecedents in Crete in the Proto-palatial period<sup>70</sup> and their development to the highest point of the 'naturalistic tradition'.<sup>71</sup> Emphasis is placed on the 'high quality' and 'great variety' of Minoan figurines, particularly during the Second Palace Period - this was followed by a gradual stylization so characteristic of the Mycenaean period (as seen for instance, in the form of the 'skirt' moving from bell-shaped to tubular to a cylindrical wheel-made base). This same process of stylization could also be seen in the male figurines, though<sup>is</sup> is less obvious,<sup>72</sup> and culminates in the Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean periods in the form of certain smaller figures - namely the  $\Phi$ , T and  $\Psi$  figures.<sup>73</sup>

When a typological development of figurines is traced over a long period of time and between two civilizations, there has been a tendency to produce an over-simplified picture exemplified only by the most noteworthy types (which in many cases are 'atypical' specimens), and to ignore most of the incongru<sup>encies</sup> and problems that may arise. Whilst such a study can prove valuable, it is carried to different extremes. Angela Tamvaki's short survey on the 'Origin, development and interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines in the Prehistoric Aegean' (1977)<sup>74</sup> in its admirable attempt to include as broad a survey as possible, lacks adequate detail and rests on generalizations of the 'psychology of art' and the 'idea' behind the 'expression' which produced the particular form of the figurines. She provides insufficient explanations or evidence to support this.

Branigan's typological study of Cycladic figurines in Crete (1971) and 'with the influence which they had upon the development of indigenous Cretan types' is useful both in its survey of Early Minoan figurines and the evidence it sheds on possible cultural contact in the Aegean Early Bronze Age, (it omits those figurines of a more 'naturalistic' type from this period as having 'no bearing on the problem of figurines of Cycladic derivation'). I cannot agree, however, with his identification of a so-called 'Cycladic province' in the north of the island where 'Cycladic culture was to some considerable extent adopted by the population'. His assertion that the 'Minoan repertoire was notably dependent on the Cycladic and Troadic forms for its inspiration' (even if it did produce varieties which were unique to the island) is not substantiated by the evidence. He had already stated his omission from the discussion 'of stone and ivory figures of men and women with hand raised to their breasts' and any additional clay ones of that period and the 'comparatively small numbers of figurines involved' in the study. So whilst some influence may have come from that area it seems unlikely that the Minoan repertoire was 'dependent' on Cycladic and Troadic forms for its inspiration. Branigan identifies within this small Early Bronze Age Group in Crete seventeen different types or varieties and his detailed description and analysis of each one enables one to compare them closely with their Aegean counterparts and pave the way for further analysis of contemporary figurines in Crete.



The controversial question of whether a Cycladic colony existed in Crete has been raised on more than one occasion. Sakellarakis, in particular, has devoted much attention to this subject as a result of his excavations at Archanes where numerous Cycladic type figurines have been found.<sup>75</sup> In 'Die Kykladen und Kreta',<sup>76</sup> he brings together all those Cycladic elements found in Crete from Neolithic times.<sup>77</sup> Although he covers a range of objects he regards the marble idols as the most obvious proof of contact in the 3rd millenium<sup>78</sup> between Crete and the Cyclades and that the date of the findings at Archanes, in particular, reveal that this contact reached its climax during EMIII.<sup>79</sup> Sakellarakis goes on to suggest that the findings from Archanes, especially those from tholos D indicate that a Cycladic settlement may have existed here.<sup>80</sup> He believes that the objects in these burials belonged to Cycladic people: it was they who brought with them Cycladic goods and who produced out of local materials objects of their own style, and who eventually assimilated unknown local objects for use in daily life and in burial. Sakellarakis further suggests that these Cycladic inhabitants to whom the objects belonged were merchants and that evidence for these conclusions is supported by finds from other sites, like Tekes, a short distance from Archanes,<sup>81</sup> and just north of Knossos.

Sakellarakis extends his discussion on the subject in 'Τε κυκλαδικα στοιχεία των 'Αρχανων' in which he relates the Cycladic elements of Archanes 'to the remaining finds of the Fourni cemetery, also in relation to the other finds of Northern Crete and the entire island, and further still in connection with the generally accepted Cycladic trade activity in more distant seas'.<sup>82</sup> He regards the

figurines as the most 'interesting items' and believes that they were probably made by Cycladeans -' ... a view supported by the finding of a unique Cycladic ivory figurine in tholos tomb Γ'. More important, however, is the fact that the 'cycladic elements of the cemetery of Archanes stand out in strong contrast to the overall Minoan environment of the area'. Whether they do indicate the presence of Cycladeans in Archanes is open to speculation, but certainly they do represent a separate group of figurines during this period, as we shall see when examining the material.

In opposition to Sakellarakis and others,<sup>83</sup> Christos Doumas sees no reason to believe that the findings of Cycladic objects in Crete naturally implies that Cycladic colonies existed there.<sup>84</sup> Whilst he agrees that the 'Cycladic' type figurines may not all be direct imports but made locally, he raises objections to the theory that they were made by Cycladic colonists.<sup>85</sup> With regard to the ivory idol from Archanes tholos tomb Γ for instance, Doumas believes that it is much easier for a local artist to work on a material which he has experience with (i.e. ivory), even if he is imitating a foreign form, than it is for a Cycladean artist to work on a material with which he has no experience whatsoever (ivory is unknown in the Cyclades), however familiar the form is to him.<sup>86</sup> In addition, Doumas does not see the findings at Archanes as fitting in with the Early Cycladic model of culture (as known from the islands themselves): Agia Photia in Siteia is the only site in Crete that approaches it. All Cycladic settlements, for instance, in the Cyclades and in other areas<sup>87</sup> are located on the sea - Archanes however is some distance inland. More important, however, Doumas cannot accept

that at the time that is suggested for this Cycladic colony at Archanes (EMIII), when Crete was just at the start of its rise to power and the Cycladic civilization in decline, that Crete would have accepted a foreign and commercial settlement at its centre.

The importance of these 'Cycladic' type figurines is evident from the discussions that have arisen over them, whether used as evidence for cultural contacts, colonies in Crete or for the development of figurines during this period. (They existed within a well-defined period of time and then disappeared.) Indeed their place within the history of Minoan figurines should not be underestimated.

Other studies on specific figurine groups include Davaras's article on 'The Minoan bronze worshippers of the Metaxas Collection' (1977). This provides us with a useful catalogue and study of those male and female bronze figurines characterized by their particular stance and gesture: namely upright with one arm (usually the right) raised to the forehead and the other arm held down by the side. A discussion follows on the execution of their hair and other features,<sup>88</sup> their dress,<sup>89</sup> and possible 'nude' figurines within the group, and the problems over chronology for the collection as a whole.<sup>90</sup> In his first article on the subject<sup>91</sup> Davaras devoted some attention to interpretation, though of a very general nature as seen when he says: 'Elles sont présumées représenter des dedicants et, quand elles sont trouvées dans des sanctuaires d'être des ex-votos formés à l'image de ces derniers'.<sup>92</sup> These votive offerings are, he continues '... dans une attitude d'adoration prend la signification de sa présence perpétuelle dans le sanctuaire; ainsi, non seulement



la statuette mais le fidèle lui-même se trouve sous la protection continuelle de la divinité'. The importance and significance of the so-called 'saluting' gesture is emphasised with a discussion on its variety, previous interpretations<sup>93</sup> (whether for instance the hand covers the eyes or is held to the forehead) and its implications for renewed interpretation of the figurines. Davaras does not see the 'exact' position as having that much significance; ... 'En effet, le vrai geste était, semble-t-il, soit le mouvement de la main en direction du front (notamment vers sa partie droite, puisqu'il s'agit de la main droite), soit l'élévation de la main à la hauteur du visage et près de celui-ci'.

Such a detailed typological survey has undoubted value and may help with forming a more accurate picture of the chronological development of this particular type of figurine. Its limitations lie only in the fact that it is a discussion of one particular 'type' in isolation without a comparative study of other contemporary figurines in different fabrics (whether of the same type or not) and without adequate examination of their contexts, for the purpose of interpretation. Other more recent and detailed studies on specific figurine groups that have provided us with an invaluable contribution and basis for further studies on Minoan figurines are afforded by two articles in 1983. Firstly E. Sakellarakis' article 'Το είδωλο του Σαμπα και τα άμορφα λιθινα είδωλα της πρωιμης εποχης του χαλκου στην κρητη',<sup>94</sup> and secondly Colette Verlinden's study on 'Les statuettes anthropomorphes Crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> siecle av. J-C'.<sup>95</sup> The importance and value of these studies for this thesis and for future research cannot be underestimated. E. Sakellarakis' study stemmed from the chance discovery in 1982

of a schematic stone figurines from Sambas; its form was not unknown in Crete, but its size quite unique with a total height of 67.5cm. The discovery of this figurine has important implications for the study of Early Minoan religion and society, particularly within the Minoan tradition of small sculpture. This figurine defies all concepts of 'miniature art' previously upheld. Whilst votive figurines and figurines of similar forms are known in Crete before, within and after this period, its monumentality is not. The large idols of the Late Minoan period are the result of quite different influences and ideas and have different forms (e.g. Karphi and Gazi). As a result of this find E. Sakellarakis took the opportunity to include a full survey and catalogue of all the schematic figurine types from Crete that are known to date, and to discuss their various forms, contexts and origins. The figurines are seen to include a variety of forms,<sup>96</sup> covering the period EMI-MMII<sup>97</sup> and are made predominantly of stone and found in both tombs and settlements.<sup>98</sup> E. Sakellarakis traces their development in detail, demonstrating successfully how the various forms emerged, and supplements the text with excellent illustrations.

Collete Verlinden's survey on the bronze and lead figurines from Crete from the 2nd millenium to the 7th century B.C. covers a far larger period of time but remains equally thorough and detailed in its examination of the material. Details discussed include anatomical features, dress, gesture, measurements, as well as development of style and technique in this medium. The authenticity of the figurines, the history of their finding and their acquisition by museums is carefully examined before attempting to analyse their origin and their function. Verlinden strongly believes that these figurines

were votive objects which is further confirmed by their method of deposition and contexts:<sup>99</sup> their varying forms related not to provenance but to the use and significance for which the object was destined; the variety of costume and quality of style was related to the social position of the person(s) whom the statuettes represented and the variety of gestures can be attributed to the represented function (action) of the figure.<sup>100</sup> This particular art reached its full maturity shortly after the end of MMIII and is unequalled in Greece for a millenium. Verlinden stresses that the geographic isolation of the island, her natural resources and the genius of her population contributed to an art and craftsmanship of which the anthropomorphic figurines in bronze are one of the richest manifestations. Furthermore, they reflect both the religious preoccupations and daily occurrences of Minoan peoples and the pleasure and pride with which they so carefully depicted themselves. The concern for thoroughness and detail is certainly evident in these recent studies, both with regard to presentation of the material and its consequent interpretation.

Finally, we must turn our attention to Majewski, who, in 'Anthropomorphic plastic art in Crete in the 2nd and 3rd milleniam B.C.' (1954)<sup>101</sup> traces the development of anthropomorphic plastic art in Crete in the light of what we know about the development of that society in the 2nd and 3rd millenium B.C. Its similarity to the title of this thesis is evident: however it is an interpretative study more than an analytical one and he states at the start that with regard to the problem of 'style' and its development, it will be mentioned 'in passing':<sup>102</sup> there is no attempt at a typological survey therefore. The article is a study of the historical process of the people living



in Crete from the Neolithic period to the end of LMIII, as viewed through the figurines. Majewski believes that historians have said little of the socio-economic development in Crete during this period and particularly of the socio-economic cultural processes which have been put forward by Marxist historiographers. Thus his main emphasis is on capturing in the style of Cretan anthropomorphic plastic art a reflection of the early tribes and settlers to the forming of a society 'with slaves and masters'.<sup>103</sup> Majewski accepts the methodological inadequacies of his study and its incompleteness in terms of good and numerous specimens (which he attributes to inadequate dating of the figurines, unreliable sources and problems with obtaining permits from museums to examine material).

During the Early Aegean periods<sup>104</sup> Majewski recognises two trends in anthropomorphic plastic art: 'schematic' and 'naturalistic',<sup>105</sup> and sees both indigenous and foreign stimuli in their formation. He regards the Cycladic art of this period as having high artistic value: its schematism he sees as the 'geometricising of natural forms', and more particularly the human female form. Its assimilation into Cretan culture at this time occurred because its form became 'the expression of the aesthetic needs of a growing tribal hierarchy in Crete'.<sup>106</sup> It became the inspiration for Cretan sculptors of this period although they still acknowledged their own types made in clay and ivory. Towards the end of the Early Aegean III period however, this 'schematism' became increasingly replaced by 'naturalism' and by the Middle Aegean I period there arose mass production of naturalistic clay figurines for cult purposes. Within this Majewski believes it is possible to distinguish the types which originated from rural workshops and those which were produced



under the influence of the town. Urban plastic art, for instance, is particularly evident in figures representing warriors and/or worshippers,<sup>107</sup> and 'women making vows wearing ritual head-gear',<sup>108</sup> whereas the more simple bell-shaped figures may be from rural workshops.

By the Middle Aegean I and II periods in Crete 'there had arisen a class-based society.'<sup>109</sup> Within this structure Majewski believes that those who were most active politically and ideologically were those centred 'around the court of the rulers' - and in particular the merchants and artisans (i.e. those people who became acquainted with new forms of social life, who travelled and traded and observed neighbouring cultures). It was they who sought new art forms at home which were appropriate to their class interests and their cultural and economic interests. In terms of the figurines, they were represented in the form of a 'more live human being'.<sup>110</sup> Thus the artist represented the woman as a 'snake-charmer' or 'priestess', as a dancer or worshipper, as an acrobat or as a warrior and sportsman. The new material which then followed these concepts and better represented the wealth of life was bronze. In terms of cult and religion Majewski links the 'realist' tradition with other ideas. 'Art' and 'magic' are closely linked, he believes, with the process of answering the very necessary life-needs such as insuring good health and fertility - particularly in the earlier 'class-free' tribal communities. As a class structured society emerges and develops, art breaks away from the process of creativity and its role in terms of representing 'life-needs': instead it is used to prop up the interests and ideologies of the ruling classes.<sup>111</sup> A religion is formed which cuts itself away from 'magic' by incorporating 'proven

rituals', 'professional priestesses', 'places of worship and cult' and 'cult implements'. It is not just an inherent belief in every individual but an institution. At the same time Majewski believes that the 'art forms' became increasingly divorced from those who were actively involved in their making because they are created for those who had wealth and authority and not those connected with their production.

This process, he sees as continuing and reaching its climax at the end of Middle Aegean III and beginning of Late Aegean I. After this, there is a return to schematic plastic art - but one which is highly stylized and still mass produced, as seen by the figurines with upraised arms and cylindrical bases. Within this he does identify at least three types: (a) those with upraised arms;<sup>112</sup> (b) those with their arms held to their breasts<sup>113</sup> and (c) those with their arms outstretched.<sup>114</sup> More unusual examples are represented by the group of dancers from Palaikastro and the so-called 'goddess with child'.<sup>115</sup>

Majewski's interpretative study on anthropomorphic plastic art in Crete is of great interest to anyone making a study of Minoan figurines. It is also appropriate that it should be the last work discussed in this chapter, not only because of its similarity to the title of this thesis, but because it emphasises the outstanding problems of previous research and studies on this subject. Firstly, there has never been an adequate typology developed for figurines of the Minoan period. Those that have been developed, valuable in themselves, have been restricted in time and space, as we have seen. Those studies that have attempted to cover a large span of time have lapsed into generalizations and have been exemplified only by the most

noteworthy specimens, which are often the most 'untypical'. Secondly, interpretation has often preceded examination of the material and within its assemblages and/or context. Majewski's article particularly emphasises this point. He approached the material with preconceived theories as to their interpretation. Whilst this can be of value and interest, it must be substantiated by a proper analysis of the evidence. In other words, figurines have been used throughout the history of their research to demonstrate and support ideas rather than examined objectively for themselves. The latter has only been achieved in more recent years, as we have seen.

(e) The last category of literature on figurines which mainly refers to Museum handbooks or guide books, inevitably includes only a list or catalogue of those items on display. Davaras's 'Guide to Cretan Antiquities',<sup>116</sup> includes a section on 'Figurines' concentrating on a few general types within the various Minoan periods, their method of manufacture and their possible use, giving a few noteworthy examples. He suggests that they were 'humble offerings in a simple but often extremely spirited style with a high degree of abstraction'.

There are still many questions to be tackled in terms of approach, methodology and interpretation. It is unfortunate that the early pioneers fall victim to the most criticism, but progress would not have been made if this was not the case. Previous studies have undoubted value in their initiation of the subject and not least in their ability to highlight the inherent problems of this particular research: it is not intended to minimize that value, but inevitably new discoveries are made and new problems formulated. Whether these supersede the older ideas or contribute to them in the forming of a fuller picture is dependent ultimately on the extent of the new

material and the nature of the new research.

This thesis attempts to create a typology for the figurines of the Minoan period specified - to be used as a suitable reference for future researchers and on discovery and publication of new material. From such an analysis and survey it is hoped that some new interpretations will be developed, even if in the form of contributions to the substantial knowledge that has already been uncovered in this area.



## NOTES: CHAPTER I

1. Evans, A.J.: 'Cretan Pictographs and Pre-Phoenician Script and the Sepulchral deposit of Agios Onouphrios'. JHS XIV (1894) 270 supp. It was in fact in 1894 that Evans first noted several marble figurines of the Cycladic type together with various other objects at the museum of Candia (now Herakleion). They came from the Agios Onouphrios deposit near Phaistos which was recovered from a circular Early Bronze Age tomb, found, looted and destroyed in the late 19th century: it was not an excavation therefore.

2. There will be a discussion of the chronology and its use in Chapter 4. Stress must be placed here however on the limits of the period in which the figurines will be studied.

3. Some main examples include:

Myres J.L.: 'The peak sanctuary site of Petsopha'. BSA 9 (1902-3) 356.

Banti, L.: 'La tomba a tholos di Hagia Triadha'. Annuario 13-14, (1933) 244-5.

Xanthoudides, S.: 'The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara'. 1924. 21, 42, 67, 121-2.

4. Pendlebury, J.: 'The Archaeology of Crete'. London 1939, reprint N.Y. 1963, 52, 71, 86, 115, 140, 167, 215.

Hood, S.: 'The Arts of Prehistoric Greece 1978, Ch.4, 89.

Zervos, C.: 'L'art de la Crète, Neolithique et Minoenne'. Paris 1956

Matz, F.: 'Crete and Early Greece'. Holland 1965 (reprint), 64, 126.

Hutchinson, R.: 'Prehistoric Crete'. London 1962 (reprint 1963), 134, 148, 181, 208.

5. Nilsson, M.P.: The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion. 2nd. ed. London 1950, 289.  
 Brandt, E.: Grüss und Gebet: Eine studie zu Gebärden in der minoisch -mykenischen und frühgriechischen Kunst. (diss.) Waldassen 1965, Ch.1.  
 Prinz, H.: 'Bemerkungen zur altkretischen Religion I'. AM 35 (1910) 249f.  
 Pini, I.: Beiträge zue Minoischen Gräberkunde. Weisbaden 1968.  
 Branigan, K.: Tombs of the Mesara. Letchworth 1970, Ch.4, 56.  
 Tyree, E.L.: Cretan Sacred Caves: Archaeological Evidence. (diss.) University of Missouri, 1974.  
 Rutkowski, B.: Cult Places in the Aegean World. Warsaw 1972.  
 Rutkowski, B.: The Cult Places of the Aegean (Rev.Ed.), London 1986.
6. Branigan, K.: 'Cycladic figurines and their derivatives in Crete'. BSA 66 (1971) 76.  
 Davaras, C.: 'Χαλκινοί Μινωικοί λατρείς της Συλλογής Μεταξα' AE (1977) 109-127.  
 Davaras, C.: 'Trois bronzes minoens de Skoteino'. ECH 93 (1969), 620-650, Pls. XI-XIII.  
 Laviosa, C.: 'Origini minoiche della plastica micenea'. 2nd. Cret. Cong. A. (1968) 374-382.  
 Tamvaki, A.: 'καταγωγή, Έξελιξη και Έρμηνεια των Ανθρωπομορφων ειδωλιων της προ.ι.στορικής Εποχής στο Αιγαίο' Anthropos 4 (1977) 264-329.  
 Hogarth, D.G.: 'Aegean sepulchral figures' in Essays in Aegean Archaeology presented to Sir A. Evans 1927 (Ed. S. Casson).
7. Banti, op.cit. 1933, 244-5.

8. Xanthoudides, op.cit. 1924, 21, 42, 67, 121-2.
9. Myers, op.cit. 1902, 356f.
10. Xanthoudides, op.cit. 1924.
11. ibid. p.23.
12. Pendlebury, op.cit. 1939, 52, 71, 86, 115, 140, 167, 215.
13. Hood, op.cit. 1978, Ch.4 89.
14. Zervos, op.cit. 1956, 10. 'La vie des Crétois, devenue ainsi en grande partie celle d'un peuple familiarisé avec le mer, lui a permis de cumuler de grandes richesses et de créer une ère de prospérité favorables aux arts.'
15. ibid. 8.
16. ibid.
17. ibid. He states quite clearly ... 'De même cette figurines salue la divinité d'un geste identique à celui des adorants sardes'.
18. ibid. 52. 'Durant les deux premières phases du Minoen Ancien la divinité continue à se présenter sous une forme humaine'.
19. ibid. 53. '... Les Minoens n'ont laissé aucune figuration d'un dieu mâle, ce qui amène à présumer que dans leur conception religieuse la déesse n'avait pas besoin de s'accoupler à un mâle pour être fécondée qu'elle pouvait engendres par elle-même.
20. Matz, op.cit. 1965, 64.
21. ibid. 126.
22. ibid. 126-7. Pl.29.
23. Hutchinson, op.cit. 1963, 134. This section is included in his chapter on 'Minoan Art'.
24. ibid.
25. ibid. 148.

26. ibid. 208
27. Prinz, op.cit. 1910, 149.
28. ibid. 167. She is flanked by lions and seen on a mountain.  
Also see p.158, Type IV, 'Göttin mit Löwen'.
29. ibid. 155 'Typus I' Göttin, ihre Brüste fassend'.
30. ibid. 156 'Typus II' Göttin mit Taube'.
31. ibid. 157 'Typus III' Göttin mit Schlange'.
32. ibid. 161 'Typus V' Göttin mit Blumen'.
33. Nilsson, op.cit. 289.
34. ibid.
35. Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH für die Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz. Wiesbaden, 1958.
36. ibid. 409.
37. ibid. 411. Indicative of this is the manner in which both men and women place their arms on different parts of the body and more particularly how they hold their breasts. Apart from seeing this as an Eastern influence and adaptation from a recognised attitude Matz recognises that the right arm tends to be placed at a higher level than the left. Eventually this developed and evolved into the right arm being raised as far up as the forehead in the characteristic 'saluting' gesture (see Pls. 17618) which similarly denoted 'prayer'.
38. ibid. Part II, 412-415. Matz believed that the snake-goddess figurines represented the transition between the earlier votive figurines and the late cult images.
39. ibid. 414.
40. ibid. Part IV, 417.
41. Brandt, op.cit. 1965, P.1. 'Minoisch Mykenische Zeit' : 1.



Gebärden der Kultischen Tänze auf Siegelbildern.

42. ibid.

43. ibid. 20.

44. ibid. 23. Alexiou's lengthy discussion on 'Η Μινωϊκή Θεά μεθ' ὕψιμων χειρῶν' (Kr.Chr. Vol.12, 1958, 179) provides us with a valuable insight into these later figurines which he describes in detail. Alexiou distinguishes between these idols and the earlier votive statuettes, the former of which may be studied quite independently (p.220). This is not to say, however, that they have no precursors in earlier periods: instead he believed the later idols represented new influences on older forms (p.221). The reason for the increase in scale and number of the idols appears not to be a radical change in religious beliefs but most probably in the establishment of larger public sanctuaries as opposed to the older household shrines (p.220/1). The conical shape of their lower halves indeed points to remnants of an older tradition and is indicative of a certain religious conservatism (p.221) in the period after the end of the Second Palaces. However, Alexiou's article mainly concerns the origins of the goddess with upraised arms as reflected on seal and ring representations, and not precursors in the three-dimensional figurines of earlier periods. With regard to their gestures he correctly recognises an entirely new attitude, not encountered in previous periods (except in glyptic), and one that includes the definition of hands. The variation in the direction in which the palms face but the rigidity with which the arms remain upright he views as all important, though difficult to interpret. The overall gesture however he does recognise as that belonging

to the goddess herself as she was seen praying to other gods (p.250). He further believes that humans may have then adopted the same gestures as the 'mediators' (p.251) that existed and operated between the human world and the divine but that later this was abbreviated so that it became the gesture of 'blessing, acceptance, and greeting of the goddess herself' (p.251).

In the last resort the exact content of the gesture was reflected in the position of the palms, which remain dubious and difficult to interpret.

45. This shall be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9.
46. ibid. 23, 24.
47. ibid. 4-5 for instance.
48. Pini, op.cit. 21. 'Beigaben und Totenriten'.
49. ibid. 23
50. Matz, op.cit. 64. "Idols such as these are also to be found in Aegean settlements which provides evidence of both the limited nature of, and the common elements in, religious beliefs. The Great Goddess, the giver of fertility in the broadest sense of the term, was represented by a powerful symbol which could be treasured by the living and the dead: its multiple portrayal, which we have already noted in western Anatolian metal work, served to guarantee its effect. It would, therefore, be wrong to envisage them as cult images, although there must have been a strong element of magic in this idol cult ... the idea probably was that it would propitiate the gods and give vigour to departed souls ...".
51. Branigan, op.cit. 1970 Ch. 4, 56.
52. ibid. 75. It was Renfrew who first developed a typology for

Cycladic figurines and identified those found in Crete, in 'The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines' AJA 73 (1969) pp.1-32. His study included the identification of the Koumasa Variety of F.A.F.'s with its restriction in time and space to Crete in the Early Minoan period. Branigan extended his own study (above) in his article on 'Cycladic figurines and their derivatives in Crete'. BSA 66 (1971) pp.57-78.

53. Branigan, op.cit. 1970, 76.

54. Tyree, op.cit. 1974, 77, 248-278.

55. ibid. 94. Nilsson describes these figures as 'votary' in MMR 1952, 295.

This does not include those female bronze figurines from settlement sites such as Agia Triadha. Davaras's article on 'Trois Bronzes de Dkoteino' 1969, op.cit., presents us with a detailed catalogue of figurines with the 'saluting gesture', the majority of which were located in caves.

56. Tyree, op.cit. 1974, 90.

57. ibid. op.cit. 91.

58. ibid. op.cit. 90. The presence of water in many caves and its possible sacred nature must also be remembered in this assessment of cave sanctuaries.

59. Rutkowski, op.cit. (1972 and 1986).

60. ibid. 172 (1972); 87 (1986).

61. ibid. 170 (1972); 78, Figs. 81-85; 85 Figs. 98-100; 86, Figs. 101-110; 112, Figs., 158-160 (1986).

62. I have already mentioned C. Renfrew's study on Early Cycladic Figurines (N.52) and his identification of a 'Koumasa' variety



within the F.A.F's. The importance of recognising this type (as Renfrew points out), and its restriction to Crete raises other valuable issues: whether for instance the F.A.F's were only manufactured in the Cyclades, why the Cretans imitated and adopted such a type and how they adapted it to fit in with their culture.

63. Müller, V.: Frühe plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien Augsburg 1929 Ch.II Der Primitive stil der Frühzeit in der Aegaeis und in Kleinasien 4.
64. ibid. 6-7. Müller avoids the use of the word 'steatopygous' for the Neolithic figurines but would rather use the term 'fat'. Within the Early Minoan figurines his examples are centred around figurines from the Mesara which he divides into three types, two of a schematic nature with tapering lower halves and a third which witnesses the first attempt at rendering a bell-shaped skirt.
65. ibid. 8.
66. ibid. 38-39. Here Müller cites particular examples from Gournes, the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha, and the Chamaizi figurines.
67. ibid. 40-41.
68. ibid. This includes examples from the mainland of Greece, the Cyclades, Rhodes, Cyprus, Serbia, Romania, Russia, Troy and Asia Minor.
69. Laviosa, op.cit., 374-382.
70. ibid. 376-7.
71. ibid. 378. This is demonstrated by the Piskokephalo figurines.  
'... una delle graziose statuette del santuario di Piscokephalo esemplificano l'acme de questo fiorire naturalistico ...'. It



is also stressed that the quality and variety of palatial statuettes can be seen in settlements too - notably Hagia Triadha and Tylissos, in bronze, though there are some variations of types.

72. ibid. 379. Here two male figurines are compared: namely from Petsopha peak sanctuary dating to MMI and the only male figurine found in Kannia Gortyna which can only be placed at the end of the Second Palace Period with its accentuated trunk and tubular legs. By contrast, Laviosa points out that the Petsopha figure aims at a high naturalistic impression even if formed in an unsophisticated manner.
73. It was Furumark [(I) The Mycenaean pottery 1941; (II) The Chronology of Mycenaean pottery 1941] who allocated letters of the Greek alphabet to certain types of Mycenaean figurines. He saw them as representing their shapes and realized their importance in supporting the evidence for his pottery chronology. Since, E.B. French [BSA 66 (1971) pp.102-187] has completed a valuable study on the 'Development of Mycenaean terracotta figurines' reassessing and expanding Furumark's classifications and including both animal and group figurines. She also discusses Cretan influences on the mainland.
74. Tamvaki, op.cit. 1977.
75. Sakellarakis I PAE 1972, 327, 1978, 309, 1981, 407.  
ERGON 1971, 242, 1973 116, 1976, 175, 1980 48,  
1981 70.
76. Sakellarakis I (1976) in 'Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln im 3 Jahrtausend v. Chr'. Ed. J. Thimme. Germany 1976.
77. ibid. 152.

78. ibid. 158.
79. ibid.
80. The details of these figurines will be discussed at a later stage.
81. Sakellarakis AAA 10 (1977) 93 (Συμμεικτα).
82. Hutchinson op.cit. Branigan op.cit. Marinatos. London 1960.
83. Doulmas, C.: 'Προϊστορικοί κυκλαδίτες στην Κρήτη' AAA 10 (1977) 69 (Συμμεικτα).
84. ibid. 80.
85. ibid. 78.
86. Doulmas cites as examples Agia Kosmas in Attika, Manika in Euboea, Iasos in Caria. n.75 p.78.
87. Davaras, C.: op.cit. (1977) 117.
88. ibid. 120.
89. ibid. 122.
90. ibid.
91. Davaras op.cit. 1969, 620-650, pl.11-13 (1969).
92. ibid. 624.
93. ibid. 637.
94. AE 1983 44-74, Pls. 23-29 and Fig. A.
95. Leuven 1983.
96. Sakellarakis, E.: op.cit., 1983, 60-67. In particular she notes three types: (a) τα βοτσαλόμορφα (pebble shaped); (b) τα βαι τυλικά (plank-shaped) and (c) τα όζύληκτα (pointed). 61. She also includes καρδιοσχημά (heart-shaped, 65).
97. ibid. 59-61.
98. ibid. 47-59.
99. Verlinden, C.: 1983 op.cit., 175.
100. ibid. 176.

101. Majewski, K.: Archaeologia VI (1954) Warsaw 1956.
102. ibid. 1.
103. ibid. 2.
104. Majewski never uses the term 'Minoan' but divides his periods into Neolithic, Early Aegean I, II, and III, Middle Aegean I, II, and III, Late Aegean, I, II and III. These would appear to correspond, however, to the more familiar Early, Middle and Late I, II and III Minoan periods. In discussing this article I have kept to his terminology.
105. ibid. 4.
106. ibid. 5.
107. ibid. 6, Table VI, 50-56.
108. ibid. 6, Table VI, and VII, 57-61.
109. ibid. 5.
110. ibid. 7. Hence the art had more of a 'didactic' element according to Majewski.
111. ibid. 7.
112. ibid. 15, Table XI, 93-98.
113. ibid. 15, Table XI, 99, 100.
114. ibid. 15, Table XI, 101.
115. ibid. 15, Table XII, 102, 104.
116. Davaras, C.: Guide to Cretan Antiquities. Athens 1976.

## CHAPTER 2. TYPOLOGIES AND THEIR APPLICATION.

'Since the archaeologist is dealing for the most part with material culture and with interpretations based upon the circumstances of its finding, the basis for his classificatory schemes must necessarily rest on typology at its most specific level'.<sup>1</sup>

One of the main criticisms made against previous studies of Minoan anthropomorphic figurines in the last chapter was that only in more recent years has any form of typological system been attempted or used for analysis or interpretation of material. Branigan<sup>2</sup> dealt successfully with the early schematic figurine types and their place within the Aegean. Effi Sakellorakis<sup>3</sup> later provided an *a/* extensive, detailed and up-to-date account of these same schematic figurines from Crete and their types. Colette Verlinden<sup>4</sup> has contributed much to our knowledge of later Minoan bronze figurines and their particular type groups. Many studies, however, were interpretative or gave little justification for the identification of a particular figurine as a 'type', or indeed the meaning of a type, and certainly no overall typology was suggested for Minoan figurines (particularly the great quantity of Middle Minoan examples). The purpose of this chapter is to prepare the ground for the forming of a typology of this material. In so doing it has seemed appropriate to review some of the literature on the subject, the methods and terms used and the problems encountered. The construction of typologies as a starting point for research has long been accepted, but only more recently examined as a methodological problem.

Typological procedures are now recognised as being not only very varied but each variant is in need of justification in terms of its



function and goals. There would appear to be no satisfactory theory of classification, nor any one 'proper' method for doing a typology; new methods are in no time seen to be 'ambiguous or not applicable to new materials'.<sup>5</sup> Recent discussions on the subject<sup>6</sup> are still only agreed on a few general points, for instance that the method chosen should be the most productive for the particular material in question and one which will elucidate the 'underlying natural structure', but not constitute an artificial imposition on the material.<sup>7</sup> Apart from the fact that over the years<sup>8</sup> most typologies were formulated on the basis of varying conceptions as to the idea of a 'classification' scheme, they were also used almost exclusively for classifying pottery and not for other groups of material like figurines. The differences found from one group of material to another is quite evident and flexibility in approach would appear to be an essential prerequisite.

In their attempt to create a broader interpretation of 'type' the Americans developed the 'type-variety' concept. This was a classification scheme devised essentially for fragmented ceramics of 'highly evolved cultures'. 'Types' became groups which could be defined by correlating features of technology (firing, admixture, etc.), composition and colour in ornamentation without reference to a vessel's shape.<sup>9</sup> However no useful purpose was found in extending this classification scheme beyond its application to these particular ceramics, despite its value for these particular studies.

The American field was greatly influenced by Alex Krieger who first formalized his particular approach to typology in 1944. He used associations between 'attributes' for defining types. Krieger<sup>10</sup> considered that all the varieties of features in objects should be

used when forming a 'type' and only applied as such after a full consideration of the material. However, the validation of those types rested on a site-to-site comparison in a sample of historically connected sites which, although useful as a study in itself, again proved to be less informative when used for other groups of material, and was much criticised.

'This view of Krieger's to the effect that types really are not types at all unless they have chronological and 'historical' meaning has always been a dominant view in archaeology - in both theory and practice ... It is still the case that most of us think of types as having normative and space-time-comparison meaning, and little more'.<sup>11</sup>

As the grouping of ceramics into types was seen as a means of measuring cultural history, it is no surprise that a more descriptive system of type grouping became subordinated to the necessity for 'emphasising spatial and temporal change in the material'<sup>12</sup> (and thus it was a useful dating method for the various phases of particular cultures). So whilst Krieger saw the purpose of his types as providing 'an organisational tool which will enable the investigator to group specimens into bodies which have demonstrable historical meaning in terms of behaviour patterns ...', he also believed that there were 'no criteria of basic or universal primary importance in forming a typology. Each specific combination of features - i.e. the manner in which they combine - is of greater determinative value than any single feature'.<sup>13</sup>

The main criticism against Krieger's methods was that they could only be applied in specific circumstances and did not yield maximum information from the material in question.<sup>14</sup>

In an attempt to reveal and analyse the underlying structures of

TABLE 1

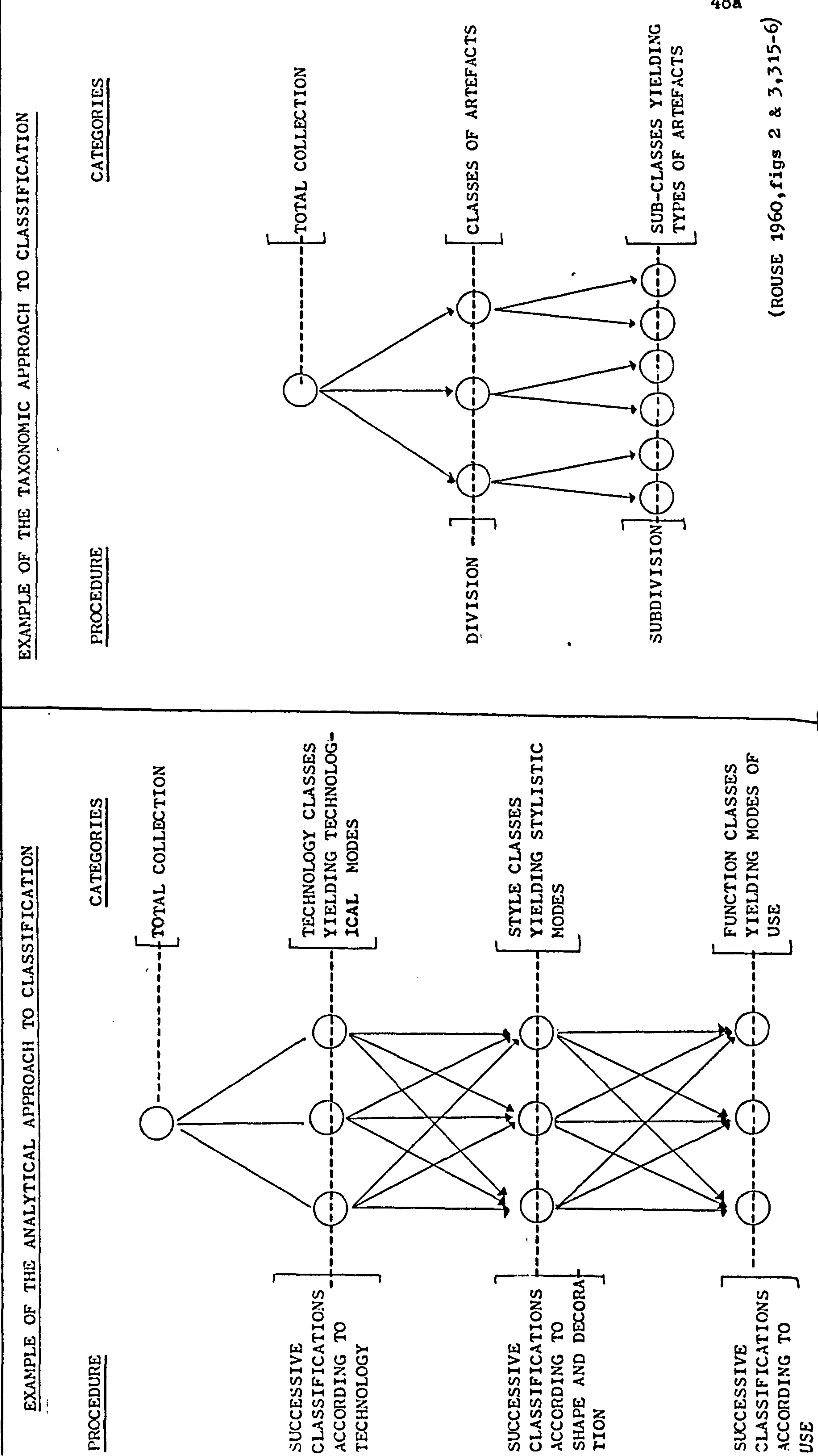
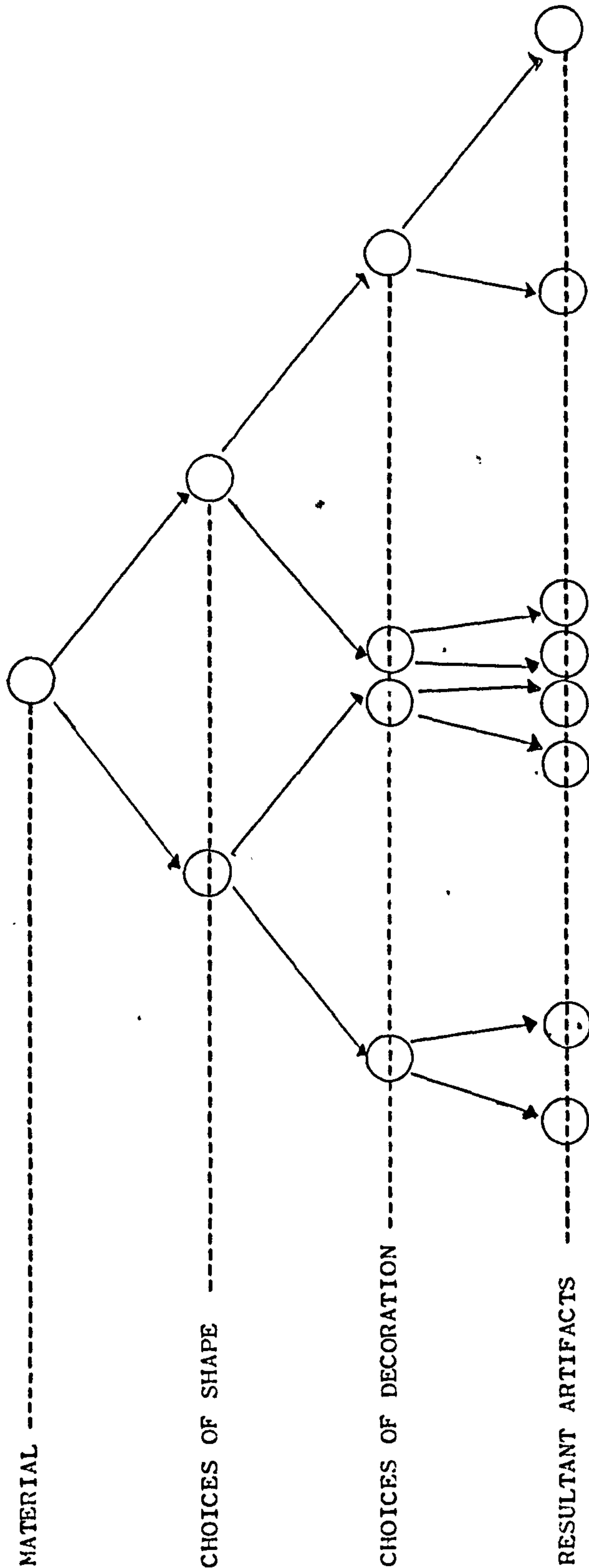




TABLE 2 : PROCEDURE FOR MAKING ARTIFACTS

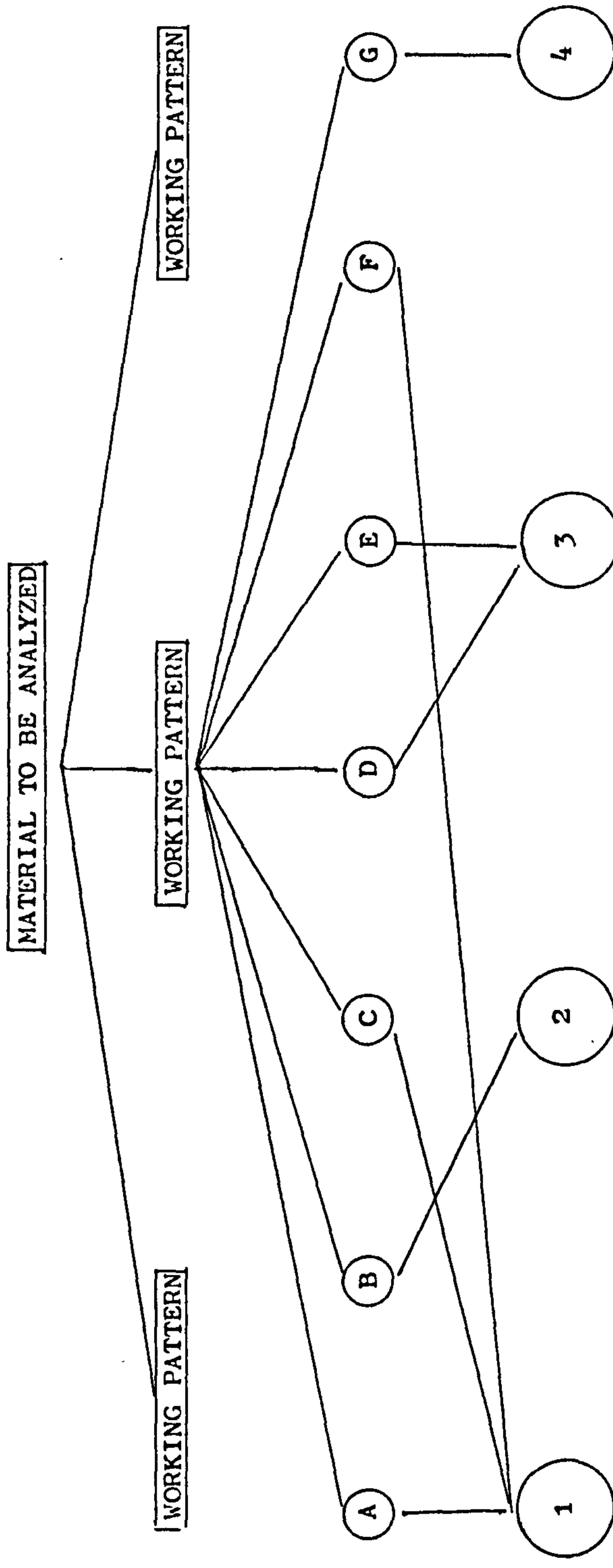


(ROUSE 1960, fig 1,314)



TABLE 3

DIAGRAM OF PROCEDURE IN THE TYPOLOGICAL METHOD



STEP 1:  
SORTING INTO WORKING  
PATTERNS OF DISTINCT  
STRUCTURAL PLAN

STEP 2:  
SORTING INTO DETAILED  
WORKING GROUPS EACH  
CONSISTENTLY COMBINING  
FEATURES IN ONLY ONE  
WAY

STEP 3:  
RECOMBINING WORKING  
GROUPS INTO TENTAT -  
IVE TYPES ON BASIS OF  
COMPARATIVE DISTRIBU -  
TION & ASSOCIATION OF  
WORKING GROUPS

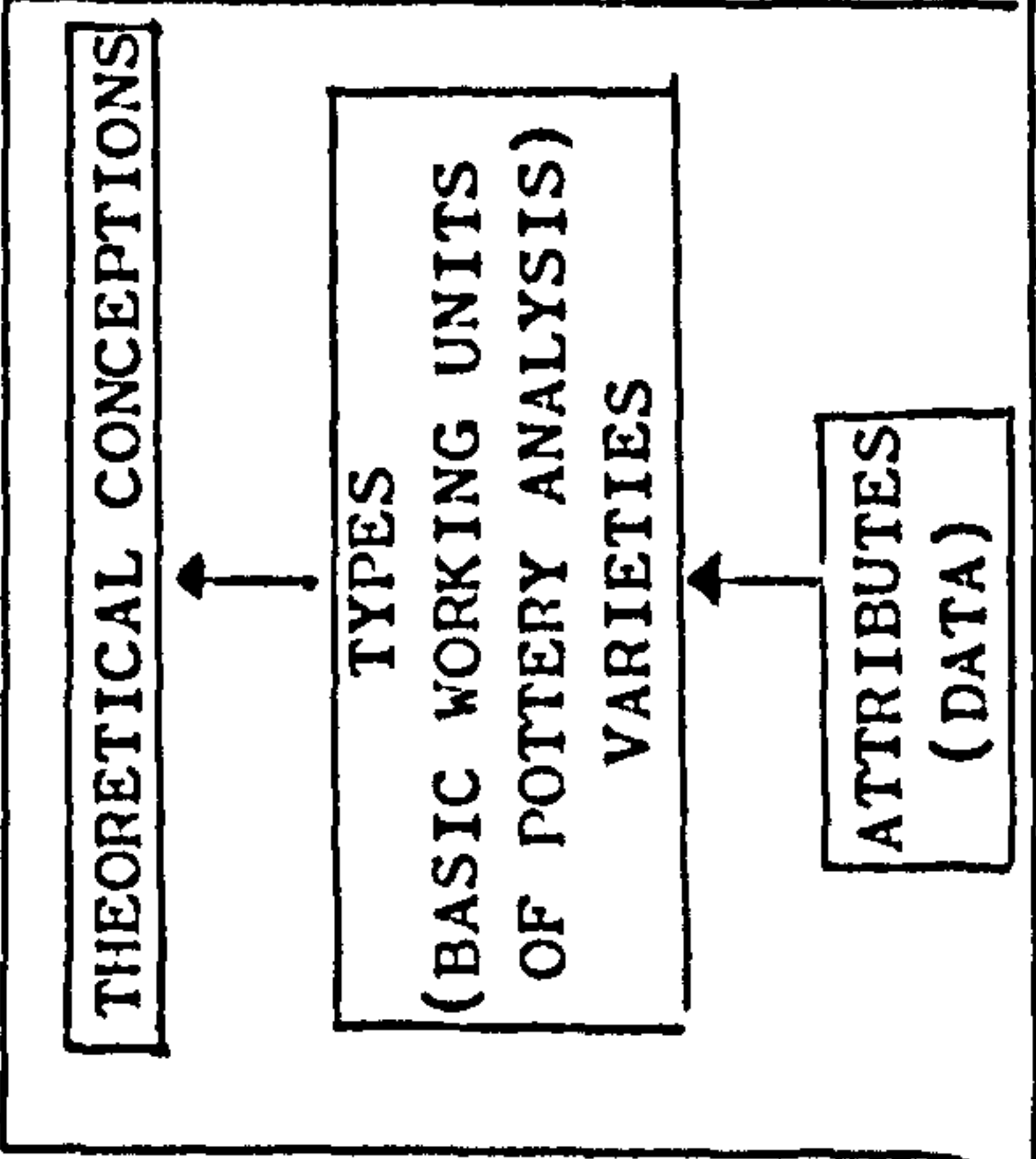
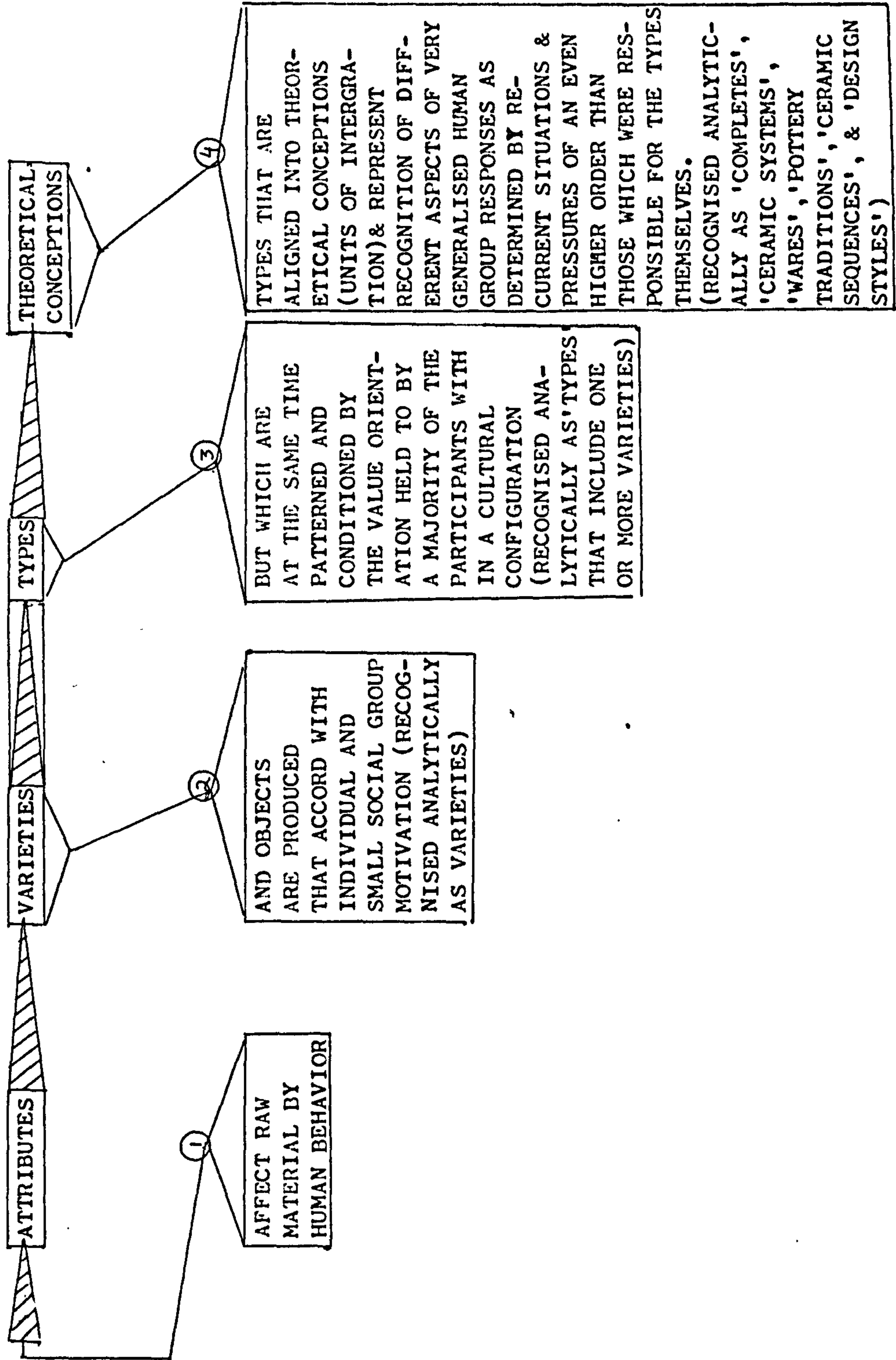
STEP 4:  
CONSOLIDATION OF TYPES THROUGH FURTHER TESTING FOR CONSISTENCY IN FORM AND VARIATION.

STEP 5:  
DESCRIPTION & ILLUSTRATION OF TYPES WITH FULL RANGE OF VARIATIONS.

STEP 6:  
(a) DETERMINATION OF SERIES OF LIMITED TYPES (b) DETERMINATION OF MATERIAL CULTURE COMPLEXES (c) DETERMINATION OF TYPE  
RELATIONSHIPS IN RELATED CULTURES.

TABLE 4

THE TYPE-VARIETY CONCEPT



artefact types more systematically, Spaulding wrote on 'Statistical techniques for the discovery of artefact Types'.<sup>15</sup> Here he suggests the use of statistical techniques as a means of uncovering the typological structure of a class of artefacts:

'Within a context of quite similar artefacts, classification is a process of discovery of combinations of attributes favoured by the makers of the artefact'.<sup>16</sup>

Like Krieger, Spaulding seemed to agree that each type must have historical significance if it was going to be of any real use:

'Historical relevance in this view is essentially derived from the typological analysis; a properly established type is the result of sound inferences concerning the customary behaviour of the makers of the artefacts and cannot fail to have historical meaning'.<sup>17</sup>

According to Brown,<sup>18</sup> however, the typology developed by Spaulding usually ended up 'explaining the very sample on which it was demonstrated'. Approaches such as Krieger's and Spaulding's, however, which required that the procedure be an explicit process of defining types by all the observed attributes in all their possible combinations, and in addition have historical significance, are in theory valid and important to analysis.

R. Whallon in 1972 wrote of 'a new approach to pottery typology',<sup>19</sup> based on his examination of the 'Owasco pottery from New York State'. Although in theory a typology was developed based on Krieger's definition of a type (a consistently recurring combination of attributes), in practice it revealed that the 'Owasco typology did not really exist in Krieger's terms'.<sup>20</sup> The reason Whallon gives is that he finds two implicit principles at work in the actual practice



of the developing of a typology which Krieger's system does not adequately account for - namely (a) that of a hierarchy of importance of attributes which exists at any step in the classificatory procedure and (b) that of a shifting of relevant criteria for type definition at any step. Whallon suggests that in order to cope with the incongruity of theory and practice encountered in the application of an 'objective' typological procedure, an alternative method should be sought. Whilst he agrees that the Krieger definition may be suitable for some kinds of types he would like to see:

'... the space-time significant type ... perhaps be defined operationally as a unit arrived at through a series of steps and decisions leading through a tree-type structure of branches to the 'types' at the branch ends. Such a type can easily be seen to have cultural significance through comparison with other ethnographic 'types' culturally defined in a similar manner. Its sensitivity to spatial and temporal changes in cultural systems can thus be understood'.<sup>21</sup>

Whallon is correct in realising that the procedure must involve a series of different steps and decisions in order to be more effective, which ultimately depends on the goals of the researcher; hence 'subjectivity' must be realised and accepted. In addition, by talking of a 'space-time significant type', a 'cultural type' and other 'types', he is acknowledging the existence of a number of types which have different meanings and are arrived at by different methods, even if viewed within the overall typological framework of one particular body of material.

In order to bring to light all the recurring features in their varying combinations within a class of objects it was stated that



one had to expose all the features in the material beforehand using all the characteristics available.<sup>22</sup> This 'analytical' form of classification (consisting of forming successive series of classes referring to different features of artefacts) was regarded as a necessary step to 'synthetic' classification where all the features are correlated in a set of classes formed for each artefact type. In 'The Classification of Artefacts in Archaeology' Irving Rouse in 1960 contrasted the use of 'analytical' classification with 'taxonomic classification (the latter term he used as representing the synthetic method). Rouse believed that whatever method one used to classify material, the result must be a single series of classes or subclasses rather than a successive series which result from analytical classification.<sup>23</sup> More important however one must decide beforehand how many 'modes'<sup>24</sup> (where he appears to mean 'features' or 'attributes') one is to consider diagnostic - that is, 'how many are going to end up in the type'. Here we come to another aspect of synthetic or taxonomic classification of great importance - the selection of features has a 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' aspect<sup>25</sup> (that is, 'how many' and 'what kind' of features are to be considered diagnostic of the classes and hence constituents of the types). David Clarke<sup>26</sup> devoted much attention to this question in what he termed 'numerical taxonomy' and posed the problem as follows:

'Take the statements:

a flint scraper is an artefact-type

a flint flake scraper is an artefact-type

a flint flake side-scraper is an artefact type ...

In these successive statements it is apparent that the word

'type' is being used at quite different levels of complexity,

linked only by being hierarchic levels of the same general set ... However, which arbitrary level in the hierarchy is to be designated subtype, which a type, and which a type group or family? Do types in such diverse artefact populations as flint scrapers, bronze swords, cooking pots and microliths represent taxa of precisely equivalent rank? The number of levels for attaching the subtype, type or type group labels is almost infinite and archaeologists are completely inconsistent in their usage of the term 'type' and the level of entity complexity to which they attach it'.<sup>27</sup>

In other words what characteristics should guide us when a difference is revealed in order to distinguish type from subtype, and 'how many' distinguishing features constitute a type rather than a subtype? At its most basic level numerical taxonomy computes the 'correlation of every feature with each one throughout the entire mass of material'<sup>28</sup> - in addition there is, in theory, no hierarchy of 'taxa' (or 'features'): 'inessential ones are not to be considered at all but once considered have equal status to essential features'.

The problem here, as Whallon realises (above), is that one cannot ignore the possibility of the different features having different values and consequently differing cultural significance. Otherwise a minor stylistic variation could be interpreted as a rare type or vice versa. Ultimately one is left with the task of making conscious choices in forming a typology and then of making justifications for the procedure taken: typologies are constructed for a special purpose even if that purpose is general.

We must not see artefacts as operating only on a morphological basis: any artefact in an assemblage can perform in two or more

spheres and in many cases their attributes will be clearly divisible.<sup>29</sup> Normally attributes have been divided into 'functional' and 'stylistic' spheres: this 'duality' was well explained by Sackett:<sup>30</sup>

'Function is dependent on the roles that an artefact assumes whereas style is a means of communication in the arena in which these roles are played'.

Because the conditions under which function and style operate are very different it would be impossible to create a typological framework to accommodate the attributes of both simultaneously, and this is certainly one good reason for individual and specialized typologies. To understand functional links for instance, the contexts in which the objects are found must be studied, which has certainly been a criticism cited against the creators of pure morphological typologies. J.H. Steward's discussion on 'type of types'<sup>31</sup> following Ford's article on the 'Concept of Types' emphasises this point by 'distinguishing several meanings of the term and showing that each has special significance relative to problem'.<sup>32</sup> Steward recognises four meanings of 'type' though he acknowledges the existence of other possible meanings. First is the 'morphological' type: this is not only the most elementary but has long been the only 'type of type' amongst a class of artefacts and is based 'solely on form - on physical or external properties'. Second is the 'historical-index' type which Steward sees as defined by form, but one which has 'chronological and not cultural significance'. This is often used for pottery in its common role as a 'time-marker' (and much approved by Krieger and Spaulding). Third is the 'functional'<sup>33</sup> type based on 'cultural use or role rather than on outward form or chronological position', and fourth is the 'cultural' type which Steward would wish to



'represent a classification of whole cultures in terms of the functionally most important features'.<sup>34</sup>

As often happens in theoretical arguments of this nature there comes a point when the very existence of a basis for delineating any form of types in archaeological data is questioned. How objective and reliable do typologies prove to be and how informative? As early as the late 1930's and 1940's American researchers were asking these questions. Brew in 1946 stated that:

'Cultures are not 'discovered', 'types' are not found.

The student does not 'recognise' a type, he makes it and puts the object in it. Objects do not 'belong' or 'fall into' types, they are placed in types by the student ...

No typological system is actually inherent in the material ... The classes are entities and realities in the minds of students, they have no other existence ...

There is no such thing as a 'type' to which an object 'belongs'.<sup>35</sup>

Taylor<sup>36</sup> and Spaulding<sup>37</sup> reacted against this generalized outburst, though demonstrated different objections. Both talked of 'Empirical' types, and Taylor of 'Empirical' and 'cultural' types. Taylor believed that empirical types were formed on the basis of an objective observation and registration of elementary properties 'inherent' in the material and then a subjective selection and grouping of them on the part of the researcher into types. Thus the types are already there, although the researcher may put them to 'rest' by grouping them in various ways.<sup>38</sup> Spaulding agreed that empirical types were entirely objective and wholly predetermined by the material:

'The artefact type is here viewed as a group of artefacts



exhibiting a consistent assemblage of attributes, whose combined properties give a characteristic pattern. This implies that, even within a context of quite similar artefacts, classification into types is a process of discovery of combinations of attributes favoured by the makers of artefacts, not an arbitrary procedure of the classifier'.<sup>39</sup>

Spaulding saw three states in his classification system: first, a consideration of all the 'important' features inherent in every artefact and an enumeration of their appearance (Rouse's analytical approach); second, a consideration of all the combinations of these features and subsequent grouping into some order and, third, the identification of similar and recurring 'statistically stable' combinations. It would appear, however, that to distinguish 'important' features one has to make conscious and subjective decisions ultimately based on the purpose of one's typology. Thus we return to the quantitative and qualitative aspects of 'typologizing' and the inescapable fact that one does indeed have to be selective and produce special purpose typologies (as long as justifications are made for one's method of procedure). So types are 'conditional', involving subjective decisions, though most agree that empirical types do exist as well - that is, the identification of 'objectively observable divisions, similarities and differences in the material'.<sup>40</sup> It is a question of accepting that more than one issue is at stake.

At the base of the typological argument is the fact that researchers cannot agree on what a type is or what purpose a typology is to serve in the process of their work. Most, as it appears, in order to succeed, would wish their typologies to accommodate different spheres and thus cope with a variety of problems for the purposes of interpretation.

Hence they would like, to use Steward's terms,<sup>41</sup> morphological, functional, chronological and ultimately, cultural meanings included in their typological frameworks (or perhaps other meanings as Steward suggested). Because this is impossible, typological procedures that have been put forward are varied in accordance with the particular aims of the researcher, the nature of the material and what he/she wishes to elucidate in the exposition of that material. The only fact that is universally agreed is that typologies should not be an artificial imposition on the material, but must elucidate the natural underlying structures. The incongruity of theory and practice has often caused difficulty in the application of what was seen as the employment of objective methods (as Whallon pointed out, for instance, in using Krieger's attribute association techniques).

In discussing their relative merits most researchers of typologies as outlined above, had valid points to make in the justifications of their particular procedures. The association of attributes in the forming of types and varieties is important, as is doing so within an historical context; likewise the idea of a tree-type strategy of working through the various stages to the types at the end is a useful approach for some material. Numerical taxonomy in its arrangement and classification of items into a single series of classes to define each artefact is valuable, together with its quantitative and qualitative considerations. More important is the recognition of types and their different meanings, and how this can be utilized to gain the maximum information from the material in question. Few today would agree with Brew that there is no such thing as a 'type' to which an object belongs except in the mind of the student and hence that they are totally artificial.<sup>42</sup> Combinations of features undoubted-

ly exist between groups of objects: it is a question of revealing these in the most productive way, and the most objective way, even if we accept that subjective decisions are at work; types are both empirical and conditional, as has already been pointed out.

Finally it must be added that typological 'potential' in any material - that is, a typology's ability to produce maximum information by whatever method or form - is also dependent on good samples. Poor sampling and preservation has an obvious obscuring effect on typologies: one cannot be sure what effect missing features or incomplete data may have on analysis and interpretation, and that must remain a vital consideration. Furthermore, a typology should include adequate provision for aberrant, and perhaps be conceived in terms of ranges of variation. The appropriate typological method(s) should ultimately lie in the nature of the material and the individual problems that it presents; it involves conscious and subjective decisions based on what one sees as its purpose at every stage, with ample justification for one's method. Methods cannot be agreed upon because different material often requires different approaches and on each occasion different questions are being asked. There is no one universal method for doing a typology that could incorporate all the spheres necessary for adequate interpretation; at best a typology must include a combination of procedures to attain maximum results, and it is on the basis of that we shall now proceed in analysing the material.



## NOTES. CHAPTER 2

## (a) Types and their application

1. Ehrich, R.W.: 'Some reflections on archaeological interpretation' American Anthropologist 52 (1950), 469.
2. Chapter 1. 'Previous studies and research'. In 'Cycladic figurines and their derivatives in Crete' BSA 66 (1971) p.76ff.  
attempts to trace a typological development of Early Minoan anthropomorphic figurines - each type being named after the site from which it was found to be most numerous.
3. AE 1983, 44-74, Pls. 23-29 and Fig.A.
4. Les Statuettes anthropomorphes Crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J-C., Louvain-La-Neuve 1984.
5. Miller, S.R.: 'On Old and New Concepts of Typology' Current Anthropology 13 (Feb.1972) 139.
6. Whallon, R. & Brown, J.A. (eds.): Essays on Archaeological Typology, Center for American Archaeology Press, Evanston, Ill, 1982.  
This book arose out of a series of seminars in 1975 and 1977 in Kempsville, Illinois on typological procedure. It was hoped that some form of consensus could be obtained, but it resulted in the confirmation that typology is very varied, with each variant needing its own justification.
7. Whallon, R. & Brown, J.A., 1982, op.cit.
8. Rouse, I.: 'Prehistory in Haiti, a study in method' Yale University publications in Anthropology 21 (1939).  
Krieger, A.D.: 'The Typological Method' American Antiquity 9 (1944) 271-288.  
Taylor, W.: 'A Study in Archaeology' American Anthropologist 50 (1948) Part 2.



Ehrich, R.W., 1950, op.cit.

Spaulding, A.C.: 'Statistical techniques for the discovery of artefact types' American Antiquity 18 (1953) 305-313.

Gifford, J.C.: The Type-Variety Method of Ceramic classification as an indicator of Cultural Phenomena. American Antiquity 25 (1960) 314.

Whallon, R.: A new approach to pottery typology. American Antiquity 37 (1972) 13-33.

9. Gifford, J.C., 1960, op.cit. Gifford presents us with a concise explanation of the method: 'Pottery 'types' and 'varieties' embody sets of recognisably distinct attributes and impart particular cultural, areal, and temporal connotations and are also meaningful entities of cultural interpretation'.

'... Ceramic 'types' represent the combining of a number of attributes into abstract conceptions which, when executed in clay by potters are acceptable to them and a majority of others within their cultural configuration. Types are summations of individual or small social group variation consistent with boundaries imposed by the interaction of individuals on a societal level and determined by the operative value system present in any society. Pottery types are therefore representative of cultural phenomena'.

Gifford, J.C., 1960 op.cit. p.341.

10. Krieger, A.D., 1944 op.cit.
11. Hill, J.N. & Evans, R.K.: 'A model for classification and typology' in Clarke, D.L. (ed.): Models in Archaeology 1972, 244.
12. Ford, J.A.: 'The Type Concept Revisited' American Anthropology 56 (1954) 42-53.
13. Krieger, A.D.: 1944 op.cit. 272.

14. Brown, J.A.: 'On the structure of artefact typologies' Ch.8, in Whallon, R. & Brown, J.A. 1982 op.cit., 179. 'Types of Artefact Types'.
15. Spaulding, A.C. 1953 op.cit.
16. ibid. 305 (b).
17. ibid.
18. Brown, A.J. 1982 op.cit., 179-80 in reference to Spaulding 1953(a), 1954 op.cit.
19. Whallon, R. 1972 op.cit.
20. ibid. 13.
21. ibid. 32.
22. Rouse, I.: 'The classification of artefacts in archaeology' American Antiquity 25 (1960), 313ff. To demonstrate this point Rouse drew up a diagram (op.cit., 314, Fig.1) to show the procedure by which artefacts were made. See Fig.(a).
23. Rouse also constructed two diagrams to explain analytical and taxonomic classification which I have included here. See Fig.(b). Rouse op.cit., 315, Fig.2; 316, Fig.3.
24. ibid. 313. He does distinguish between two different kinds of modes however: '... 'procedural modes' when they refer to the behaviour of artisans and 'conceptual modes' when they consist of the ideas which artisans have expressed in artefacts'.
25. ibid. 315. In his description of the procedure necessary for taxonomic classification Rouse discusses the quantitative and qualitative aspects involved.
26. Clarke, D.L.: Analytical Archaeology 1968, Ch.5, 'Artefact and Type'.
27. ibid. 196-197.

28. Klejn, L.S.: Archaeological Typology. BAR International Series  
153 (1982) 65.
  29. Binford, L.R.: 'Archaeology as Anthropology' American Antiquity  
28 (1962) 217-225.
- Brown, J.A.: 'On the structure of Artifact Typologies' in  
Whallon, R. & Brown, J.A. (eds.) 1982 op.cit. Ch.8 180.
- Both discuss such spheres as the 'technological', 'social' and  
'ideational' and their related attributes.
30. Sackett, J.R.: 'The meaning of style in archaeology. A general  
model'. American Antiquity 42 (1977) 370.
  31. Steward, J.A.: 'Types of Types' A discussion following Ford's  
article 'On the concept of Types' American Anthropologist 56  
(1954).
  32. ibid. 54.
  33. ibid. 55.
  34. ibid. 57.
  35. Brew, 1946 op.cit. 876-877.
  36. Taylor, W., 1948 op.cit.
  37. Spaulding, A.C. 1953 op.cit.
  38. Taylor, W. 1948 op.cit. 116, 123-129, 144-145.
  39. Spaulding, A.C. 1953 op.cit. 305.
  40. ibid.
  41. Steward, J.A. 1954 op.cit.
  42. Voorrip's contribution in Whallon, R. & Brown, J.A. (eds.) 1982  
op.cit. Ch.5 takes up the problem of 'natural classifications'.  
He believes that types are indeed an imperfect imposition on  
the data and determined by the small number of attributes we,  
as observers, can detect. From such an analysis Voorrips sees

that generalizations are made and, as a solution to the limitation that typologies impose on material, one should turn to the 'variable construction' approach. From the latter method one can detect underlying variables 'that are more clearly related to hidden, behaviorally dependent aspects of the objects'. These in turn help link up with other 'variables' in the cultural system and hence help with overall interpretation.



### CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

In the last chapter it was established that there is no one universal method for constructing a typology that could cover the great varieties of material and different spheres necessary for adequate interpretation. In covering the ground of the basic works on typologies during this century it was hoped that the advantages and limitations of the various procedures could be set out, and thus lay the foundation for the classification of the material here in question, and help clarify the reasons for the adoption of one method in preference to another. Since one of the main aims of this thesis is to form a typology for Minoan figurines, this was an essential part of the overall process.

Most researchers of typologies had valid points to make in the justification of their particular methods. It was seen, for example that combinations of features undoubtedly exist between a group of objects, though these must be revealed in the most productive and objective way possible.<sup>1</sup> In addition it was recognised that subjective decisions are involved, and that types are ultimately both 'empirical' and 'conditional'.<sup>2</sup> Spaulding correctly stated that apart from this 'discovery of combinations of attributes'... each type must have historical significance if it is going to be of any real value.<sup>3</sup> It is Whallon's method, however, as revealed in his 'New approach to pottery typology'<sup>4</sup> that will be most closely followed in this study. Although he agreed with Krieger's definition<sup>5</sup> of a consistently recurring combination of attributes, he also recognised a 'hierarchy' of importance of attributes which existed at any step in the classificatory procedure and a 'shifting of relevant criteria for type definition'.<sup>6</sup> Thus the procedure must

involve a series of different steps and decisions in order to be most effective; this is dependent on what one wishes to elucidate in the exposition of that material. It is essential that one exposes as many different features and their recurring combinations in a particular group of related artefacts as possible; from this point it is necessary to make conscious decisions in the forming of one's type, and it is this process that will be adopted and used here.<sup>7</sup> Before this is begun, and we turn more specifically to the figurines, it is necessary to establish a few important points.

The figurines cover a wide range of periods - that is from the end of the Neolithic to the destruction of the second palaces in Crete<sup>8</sup> - and come from a range of sites within a comparatively limited area in Crete. The nature of the sites varies from tombs to peak sanctuaries to caves and settlements, but the sites can nevertheless be related to each other at various points in the history of their evolution.

When examining the material itself there are three immediate problems evident:

(a) incomplete data: a vast quantity of figurines has been brought to light, but only a limited number are published and available for study. For this reason it is important to create a typological system that can accommodate new material at any stage or time. The limitation that this imposes concerns the tentativeness of interpretation imposed by the inconclusive evidence. A certain amount of the material that has been studied here has not yet been published,<sup>9</sup> whilst other groups of figurines, although published, have not been personally viewed.<sup>10</sup> This problem will be more fully discussed when presenting the material.

(b) the fragmentary nature of the majority of the material: it was mentioned in the previous chapter that typological 'potential' in any material is dependent on good samples - one cannot be sure what effect missing features may have on analysis and interpretation, so a typological method must be sought that takes this into consideration. Complete terracotta figurines are not very numerous, largely because of the nature of the material; they may be broken during firing, at the point of deposition or damaged with the passage of time. At the same time it has been recognised that many isolated limbs and torsos were intended to be left as such by the maker.<sup>11</sup>

By contrast most bronze and lead figures have been found intact.

(c) variety of detail: the great variety of detail that is exhibited in many of the figurines and/or parts of figurines (particularly heads) makes criteria for definition of attributes and exposition of all the features a lengthy and complicated procedure. One of the main reasons for this is that the majority of figurines were hand-made and, secondly, with increasing skill and demand variety and detail became all the more prominent. The typological method must therefore take into consideration the range and variety of detail in the most economic and objective way.

#### PROCEDURE (Table 5)

1. In order to accommodate all these problems the first ordering of the material must be a chronological one: this will be discussed separately and more fully in the next chapter.
2. Within the chronological groupings the figurines are first placed into two categories, (a) schematic and (b) naturalistic. The



reason for this is that it is impossible to include within the same typology two forms which reflect such different concepts and methods of representation. Let us examine this further by defining what is meant by schematic and naturalistic in anthropomorphic figurines.

Schematisation, its process and meaning, has been studied at length in various prehistoric art-forms - particularly with regard to cave paintings. It is of no relevance here to discuss cave paintings as such, but it is of great importance to understand the ideas of schematism and naturalism as they have been discussed with reference to cave paintings, for it is equally applicable to three-dimensional art-forms.

Robert Layton in 'Naturalism and cultural relativity in art' expresses the idea of schematism as follows:

"A representation becomes schematised when it reproduces the general characteristics of the model by reducing it to its essential traits. Schematisation is thus an interpretation of the visible which omits the fortuitous to emphasis what is permanent and essential. Schematisation, like stylization implies a simplification of reality: - this is guided by judgement"<sup>12</sup>

Naturalism, conversely, deals with representing what is visible 'in nature' without enlarging or simplifying it. Consequently an object that is regarded as 'schematic' imparts far less information than an object seen to be 'naturalistic'. In addition, because certain attributes of a schematic object may be exaggerated whilst others are suppressed altogether in its formation, it is attempting to represent a specific



message - i.e. it is far more symbolic in its representation than a naturalistic object.<sup>13</sup>

It would perhaps be misleading to claim that a large proportion of Minoan figurines are 'naturalistic' since few, if any, conform to nature exactly, but they do represent the human form much more closely than those figurines which can only be identified as 'anthropomorphic' after the identification of a few recognisable traits (e.g. heads or reproductive organs in men and women).<sup>14</sup> Anthropomorphic, after all, refers to those objects that represent the human form to whatever degree of abstraction or modification. Ucko and Rosenfeld in 'Anthropomorphic representations in palaeolithic art'<sup>15</sup> discuss a few basic and essential characteristics for the purpose of identifying the human form in palaeolithic art: these are based on diagnostic biological traits which, as Andree Rosenfeld points out, are "probably the only sure approach to the initial identification of subject matter in any prehistoric art form"<sup>16</sup> Rosenfeld has produced an excellent discussion on the 'manner' and 'degree' of schematisation within a particular group of cave paintings which is of value here.<sup>17</sup> He sees the 'manner' of schematisation in drawings as referring to:

- (1) the selection of certain traits of the model as 'basic' or essential.
- (2) "the selection of some of these traits for emphasis.
- (3) the general artistic conventions employed to represent these traits".

and the 'degree' of schmatiation as referring to:

- (1) "the extent to which selected traits are emphasised.

(2) the extent to which other traits are either reduced or omitted".

The schematised form, however, must retain sufficient characteristics in order to be recognised as a representation of the original model (in our case the human form), and, in addition, its particular characteristics must be found with enough regularity in order to be considered as 'intentional' - otherwise one may be dealing with a unique or even accidental occurrence. In the various schematised configurations of human forms therefore one would expect to find at least one of the following characteristics:

(a) outline of head and body (minimum requirement)

- here limbs may not be indicated at all but if present may be in the form of slight incisions.

(b) selection of various biological traits for emphasis

- these may include breasts or the pubic triangle in women, and the reproductive organ in men.

In some cases arms may be selected for emphasis, but legs are omitted and seen only in the form of a tapering body. In others the body may be outlined but facial features on the head clearly indicated, with eyes, nose and mouth.

Whatever the case the figurines must be identifiable as anthropomorphic by one or more of the stated traits. The extent to which these are then used and emphasised is one of our prime considerations both in the typological field and in interpretation.

Those figurines which are regarded as closer to 'naturalism' impart far more information as to how these people viewed themselves: they may not only have recognisable and separate limbs

together with other anatomical features but may be dressed, armed, wearing head-dresses, seated, standing or 'in action' and reveal a variety of gestures.

Gombrich<sup>18</sup> believed that all art which was intended to be representational (i.e. it represented something in the 'real world') developed through a process of 'schema and revision' to varying degrees - it was how the artist viewed what he was trying to depict. Hence all Minoan figurines may be regarded as schematic in that none are completely true to life. The distinction which is clearly identifiable may be summarised as follows:

- (a) 'schematic': those figurines which have been reduced to varying degrees of abstraction, suppressing or omitting some traits but including and/or emphasising others as result of a decision. These traits must be of a recognisable human characteristic and must recur with sufficient regularity in order to be regarded as intentional.
- (b) 'naturalistic': those figurines which attempt to portray the human figure whether male, female or hermaphrodite in their natural form as viewed by the creator, and without enlarging or simplifying to any special degree any of the characteristics.

3. It has been stated so far in the typological procedure that after dividing the figurines into chronological groups one then moved to 'form' - in this case, 'schematic' and 'naturalistic'. One of the most basic and primary divisions when faced with a large body of objects known to represent the human figure in whatever form, is one of 'gender'. To this end four categories



have been allocated for this material:

- (1) male: those figurines which reveal recognisable evidence of the male sex, i.e. reproductive organs.
- (2) female: those figurines which reveal recognisable evidence of the female sex, i.e. breasts and/or pubic triangle.
- (3) hermaphrodite: whilst examining the material it became evident (particularly amongst the 'naturalistic' groups) that a small number of figurines had both male and female anatomical features, i.e. breasts and penis.
- (4) unknown: (a) due to the fragmentary nature of much of the material it was often difficult to ascertain whether a figurine belonged to any of the three above named categories.  
(b) In addition some figurines revealed no evidence of either male or female anatomical features.

4. From here the selection of 'essential' and 'inessential' attributes and their hierarchy of importance in the typological procedure is a matter of subjective opinion after one has examined the material. From Table 5 it can be seen that three levels of attributes have been chosen.

Attributes (1): (a) Posture (b) Gesture

What position a figurine is in, and how the arms are rendered, are the first and most obvious attributes that are visible to the eye. More important they are the best indication for, and give us most information about what 'action' the figurine is attempting to represent. Hence they are a key attribute and must be considered first.



Attributes (2): (a) Heads (b) Torso (c) Lower Half

Many figurines within the same period and/or context may have the same postures or gestures, or both combined, though belonging to different gender groups. However, they may, vary considerably in their detail.

In addition, whilst some figurines may also show similar detail in various sections of the body - the head for instance, they may vary in other parts - for instance, dress or the shape of the torso and breasts. The best way to accommodate these discrepancies of detail seemed to be to divide the figurines into three parts and discuss their varieties separately - i.e. (a) heads (b) torsos and (c) lower halves.

This has an added advantage. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that the fragmentary nature of the material makes the forming of individual and complete types difficult. By using this method one can include those parts of figurines that have come to light where their other features are missing due to breakage. Hence one can assimilate more information.

Attributes (3): Dress and Adornments

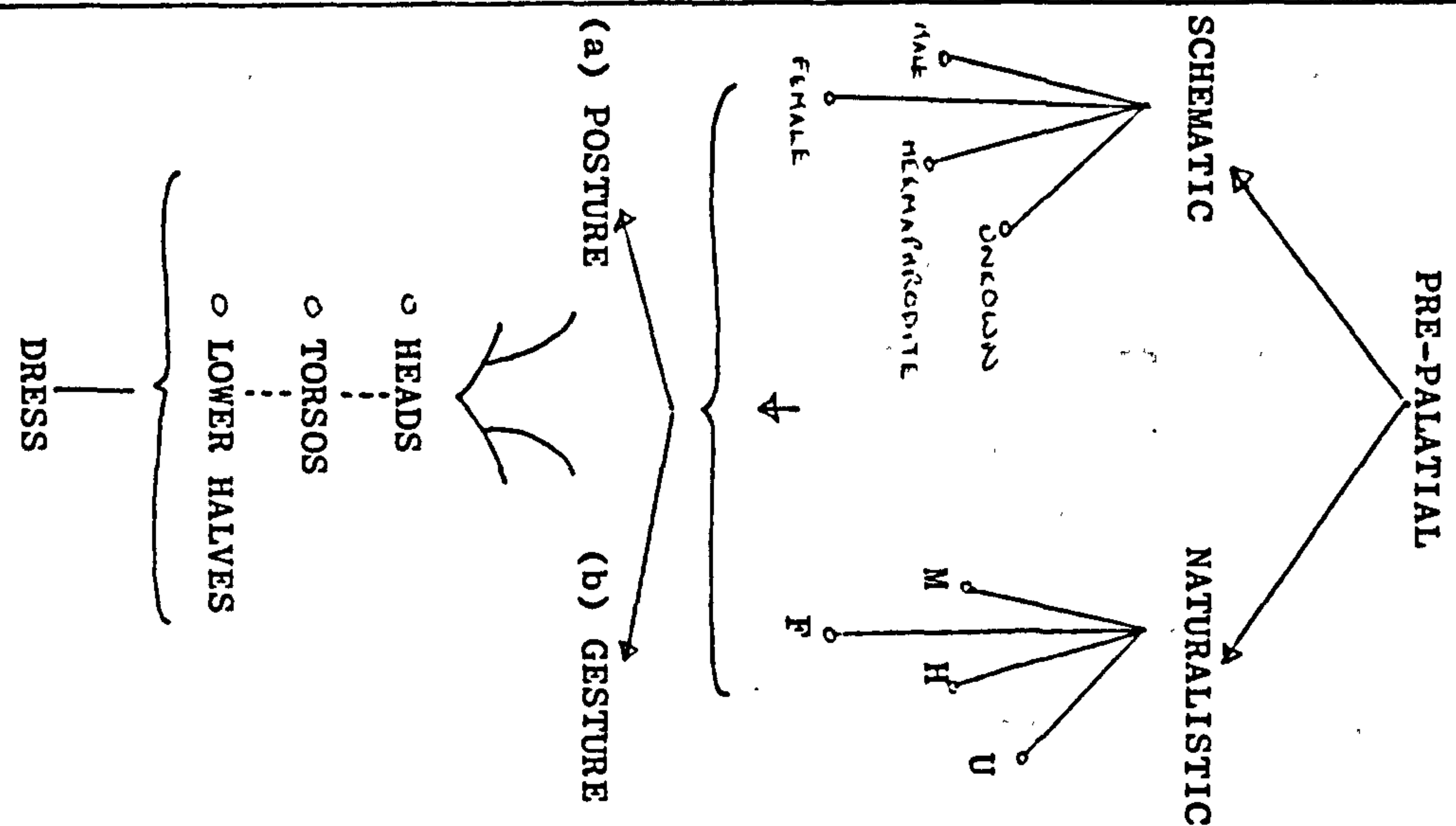
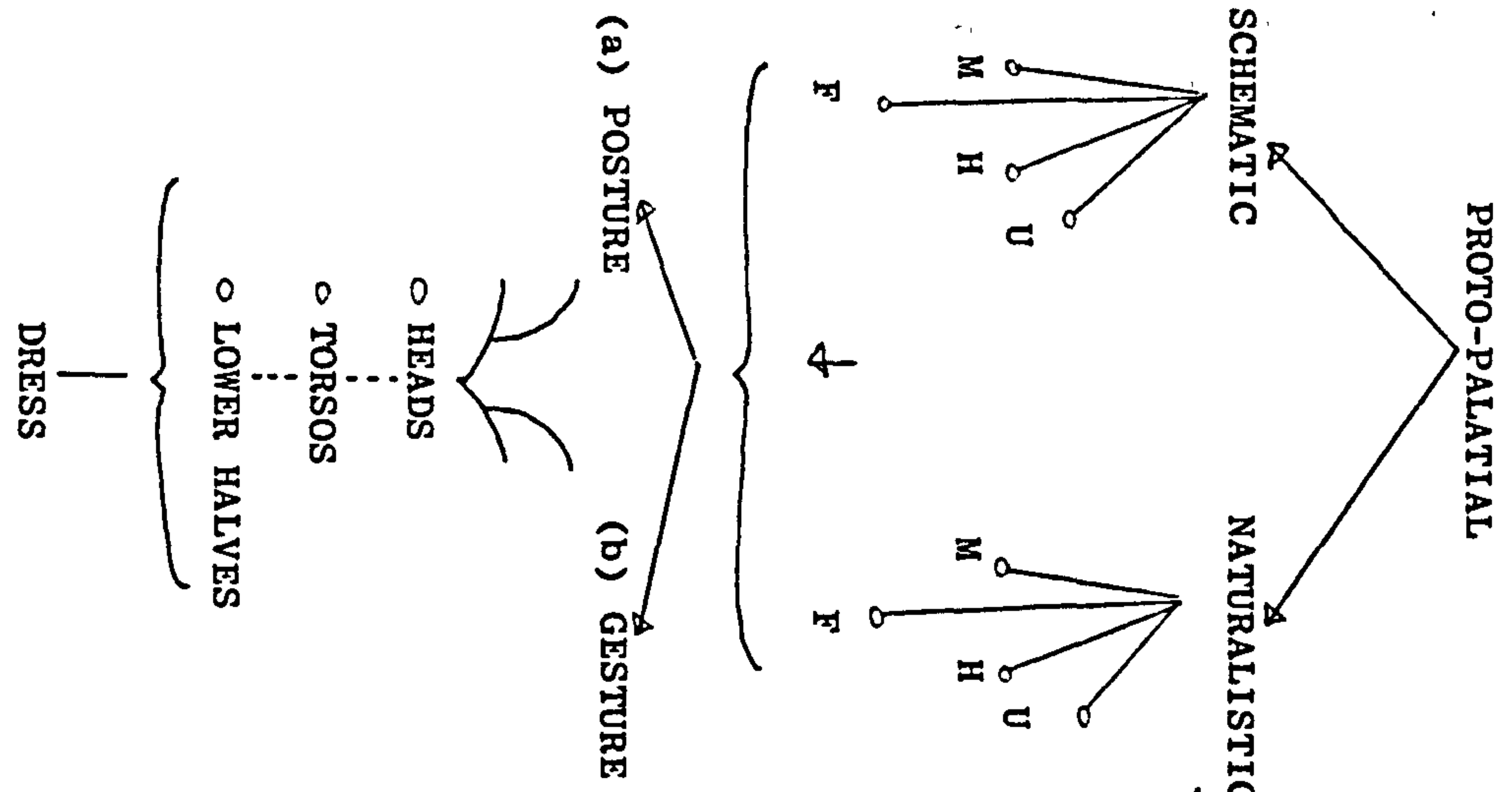
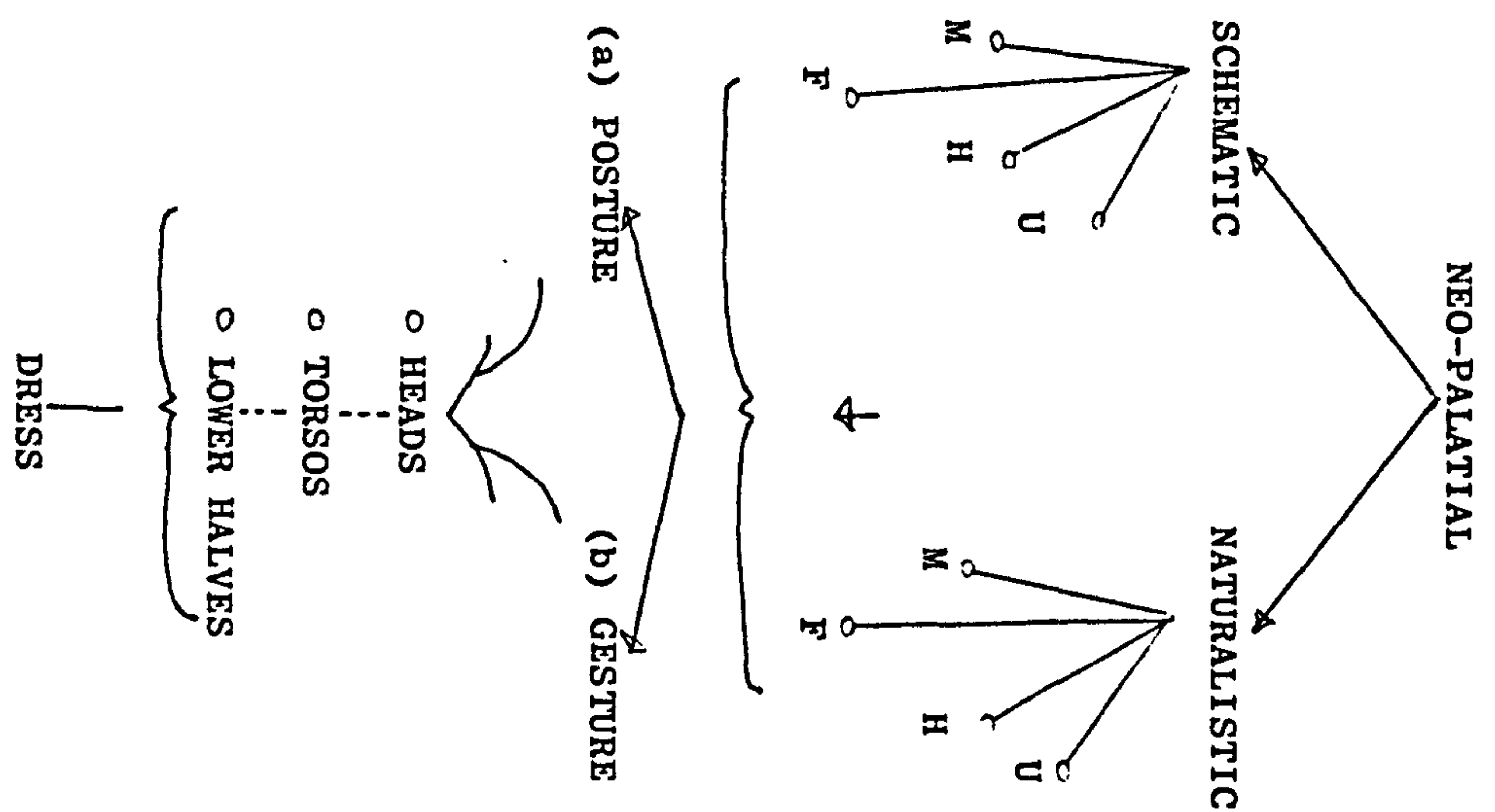
Dress and other adornments are evident to varying degrees from an early period. However their detail and variation increases considerably with time, particularly amongst the female - male dress appears to be more standardized throughout. Because of this variety, and often concentration on detail and individuality by the maker, dress assumes some degree of importance and is perhaps one way of linking the figurines to the individuals of the society.

The combinations of sets of these attributes to form definite

and individual types from period to period and between the sexes is (as has already been stated) virtually impossible because of the very small proportion of complete terracotta figurines that exist. A small number is in evidence or reconstructed, but how accurately these figurines exemplify a particular type is hard to say; in some cases they do not occur with sufficient regularity to enable one to identify them as such with certainty. Comparison with bronze figurines, where completeness is not a problem, is one method of justifying one's decisions: bronze or lead figurines, however, by the very nature of the material, do not contain the detail that terracotta figurines reveal, nor the great variety. Certainly the discrepancies in detail, where similarities exist, make definitions of individual types difficult and provide a good reason for dividing the figurines into sections with their related attributes.

TABLE 5.

TYPOLOGICAL PROCEDURE

CHRONOLOGICAL GROUPINGS			
FORMS ↑ SEX ↑ ATTRIBUTES (1)   ATTRIBUTES (2)   ATTRIBUTES (3)			
PRE-PALATIAL			
			
PROTO-PALATIAL			
			
NEO-PALATIAL			
			

POSTURES

Type 1	Upright with legs together
Type 2	Upright with legs apart
(a)	Right leg slightly forward
(b)	Left leg slightly forward
Type 3	Upright with legs covered
Type 4	Seated
(a)	Legs apart
(b)	Legs together
Type 5	'Immobile' or 'at rest'
(a)	Legs incised
(b)	Legs not discernable



GESTURES

- Type 1: (a) Both arms folded over waist, left over right  
 (b) Both arms folded over waist, meeting in centre  
 (c) Arms indicated by incision only

- Type 2: Both arms held to chest<sup>19</sup>  
 (a) with elbows raised and hands held apart resting on chest  
 (b) with elbows raised and hands touching in centre of chest  
 (c) with elbows raised and hand held to side of chest  
 (d) with elbows raised and hands below breasts/chest  
 (e) with elbows held down touching flanks and hands held apart resting on chest  
 (f) with elbows held down touching flanks and hands touching in centre of chest  
 (g) arms looped round to front with hands meeting in centre of chest  
 (h) arms looped round to front with hands below breasts  
 (i) elbows held down with hands held to breasts.

- Type 3: Arms outstretched sideways

- (a) straight  
 (b) bent at elbows  
 (c) 'hanging'  
 (d) projecting arm stumps

- Type 4: Both arms held forwards in front of body

- (a) straight  
 (b) bent at elbow with forearms tilting up  
 (c) curved round in front  
 (d) curved round with hands touching in front at chin level  
 (e) curved round with one forearm tilted upwards and the other forearm held in front of body horizontally  
 (f) curved round and inclined downwards with hands touching at navel

- Type 5: One arm to chest with other held down by side<sup>20</sup>
- (a) right arm with left hanging  
(i) loosely (ii) taut (iii) bent
  - (b) left arm with right hanging  
(i) loosely (ii) taut (iii) bent
- Type 6: Right arm held to forehead, elbow raised with left held down by side
- (a) right arm resting on forehead with left hand held  
(i) loosely (ii) taut (iii) bent to hip/side
  - (b) right arm resting on forehead covering eyes with left  
(i) bent to side of body (ii) held down by side
  - (c) right arm resting on forehead with left crossed over chest to opposite shoulder
- Type 7: One arm crossed over chest and shoulder with other arm around waist
- Type 8: Both arms crossed over chest<sup>21</sup>
- (a) right over left, left higher
  - (b) left over right, right higher
  - (c) symmetrically
- Type 9: Arms covering chest with hands to chin
- Type 10: Both arms held down by side
- Type 11: (a) both arms bent at elbow with hands on hips<sup>22</sup>
- (b) both arms held loosely to hips
- Type 12: One arm with elbow raised and held up towards head with other arm curved round and inclining downwards
- Type 13: Both arms held out horizontally in front with both forearms held to forehead and hands covering face
- Type 14: Left arm inclining downwards with hand on lap and right arm outstretched forwards in front of body.
- Type 15: Both arms held up with hands on head

1. see chapter 2(a)
2. ibid. 32-33.
3. Spaulding, A.C.: 'Statistical techniques for the discovery of artefact types' American Antiquity 18 (1953) 305.
4. Whallon, R.: 'A new approach to pottery typology' American Antiquity 37 (1972) 13-33.
5. In Krieger, A.D. 'The Typological Method' American Antiquity 9 (1944) 271-288.
6. Whallon, R., (1972) op.cit. 305.
7. It is noteworthy that Colette Verlinden in 'Les statuettes anthropomorphes Cretoises en bronze et en plomb, du III<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> siecle av. J-C' Louvain-La-Neuve 1984, recognised the difficulties in identifying individual types despite their completeness, because of the great variety of detail within and between the figurines. Hence for each figure in her catalogue, for which there are only two overall type groups (Le style to Princes and Le style Classique) she identifies separately the type of posture, gesture, face, head-dress, clothes, and accessories. She does not, however, correlate these attributes with one another in an overall typological procedure, see them in any hierarchy of importance, or justify her method. So whilst her attributes, gender and chronological divisions are all valid they are not conceived within a single structure but belong to separate lists within only two overall type groups.
8. A more detailed discussion and definition of the chronological system used will be found in (c) of this chapter.
9. From the peak sanctuary sites of Traostalos, Kophinas and Maza and the palace of Zakros.

10. This particularly applies to the bronze figurines that fall within the specified period: they have been amply documented by other researchers and particularly by C. Verlinden in "Les Statuettes anthropomorphes Cretoises en bronze et en plomb, du III<sup>2</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> siecle av. J-C" 1984.
11. This is evident from votive deposits found on peak sanctuary sites where a large number of limbs and heads were deposited. Cf. for example Myres, J.L. 'The peak sanctuary site of Petsopha'. BSA IX (1902-3) 374-5.
12. Layton, R.: 'Naturalism and cultural relativity in art' in Form in Indigenous Art: Schematisation in the art of Aboriginal Australia and Prehistoric Europe. Ed. P.J. Ucko, 1977, 47.
13. There is undoubtedly a theoretical spectrum of degrees of schematism within the schematic group, as there are degrees of naturalism within the naturalistic group.
14. A good example of the problem of identifying schematised configurations as the human form occurs in the stone figurines (?) from the tomb of Pyrgos ("Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον 4 1918, 162-163 εἰκ. 14) excavated by Xanthoudides. Some of these figurines are barely identifiable as representing the human form. E. Sakellorakis, however, (in AE 1983, 72) acknowledges their anthropomorphic forms, identifies two types (βοταλόμορφα and ὄξυληκτα), and recognises their restricted location to the site of Pyrgos.
15. In Santander Symposium, symposium internacional de Arte Ropestre 1970, M.B. Almagro and M.A. Garcia Guinear (eds.) 149-211.
16. Rosenfeld, A.: "Profile figures: schematisation of the human figure in the Magdalenian Culture of Europe" Form in Indigenous



Art ... 1977, 94.

17. ibid.
18. Gombrich, E.H.: Art and Illusion: a study in the psychology of pictorial representation 1960.
19. Verlinden, C. 1983 op.cit., 267. This corresponds to her "geste 4: les mains sont repliées sur la poitrine.  
(a) les coudes sont lèves sur les côtes et les main touchent la poitrine.  
(b) les coudes sont abaissés sur les côtes et les mains touchent la poitrine."
20. ibid. This corresponds to her "geste 6: le bras droite replié sur la poitrine, le bras gauche étant abaissé le long du corps."
21. This corresponds to her "geste 5: les mains croisées sur la poitrine."
22. This corresponds to her "geste 3: les mains sont posées sur les hanches."

#### CHAPTER 4. CHRONOLOGY

Since a typology needs sequential or 'historical' ordering if it is going to be of any real use, the purpose of this section is to establish the chronological scale along which the types will be measured. The figurines in question cover a large time span - from the end of the Neolithic in c.3000 B.C.<sup>1</sup> to the destruction of the second palaces in c.1450 B.C. This period of time has been chosen as best representing Minoan society and less disturbed by outside influences.

Chronological modifications and sub-divisions are continually in progress for the Minoan period, though there are two basic methods that have been established for dividing it, which are still commonly used. Arthur Evans in his excavations at Knossos at the beginning of this century laid down the first and most popular system:<sup>3</sup> here he divided the Minoan civilization into three major periods (a) Early Minoan E.M. (b) Middle Minoan M.M. and (c) Late Minoan L.M., which were in turn all subdivided into three with sub-divisions often having two or three sub-phases: all were based on pottery styles.

The second system, based on a much broader scale relating to palace architecture - namely Pre-, Proto-, Neo- and Post-palatial - was first suggested by Åberg in 1933<sup>4</sup> but not accepted and used for another two decades, after N. Platon had modified the system in absolute dates but employed the same terminology for the divisions.<sup>5</sup> For the purpose of this thesis it has seemed best to use this latter method for preliminary grouping. The reasons for this are that (a) the context in which many of the figurines were found was often very disturbed as a result of ancient and modern looting, making exact dating very difficult.<sup>6</sup>

- (b) archaeological reports often exclude precise details of context and location, thus making any reassessment of dates at a later stage very difficult.<sup>7</sup>
- (c) the nature of the context often precludes the possibility of precise dating, however accurate the recording.<sup>8</sup>
- (d) in some cases it is possible that the context is 'secondary': if the figurines found in any one area belong to a deposit thought to be 'votive' they may have been manufactured at a much earlier date than the time of their deposition. Alternatively they may be heirlooms.
- (e) the finding of isolated and stray figurines excludes the possibility of exact dating. At best comparative data may be used to date the figurines.

This does not mean however that more precise dating can never be used. To supplement these initial major divisions of Pre-; Proto-; and Neo-palatial a more precise system based on Evans' method (and followed by Pendlebury) but improved with modifications made to it in recent years will be used. This requires further discussion, especially since there has been much controversy concerning the absolute dates that such divisions represent. The evidence on which such a system is based is primarily ceramic (i.e. shapes, techniques and decoration of pottery).

Evans based his system on the correlation between the Early, Middle and Late Minoan periods and the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms of Egypt. His absolute dates were then related to Minoan connections with Egypt: he used for instance evidence for Minoan imports in Egypt, Egyptian imports found on Crete and Egyptian influence on Minoan glyptic work and painting.<sup>9</sup> It has now been fully recognised however that cultural contacts existed between Cyprus, Anatolia and the

Near East with Crete (see below) which must also be taken into consideration for absolute dating.

Evans' early analysis, however, is still fundamental to any study of Minoan chronology as are those of Pendlebury<sup>10</sup> and Kantor<sup>11</sup> and the more specialized early studies of Middle Minoan chronology by Sidney Smith<sup>12</sup> and Mackenzie.<sup>13</sup> Since then many scholars have used Crete as the central point of discussions on Early and Middle Bronze Age chronology such as Platon,<sup>14</sup> Alexiou,<sup>15</sup> Zoes,<sup>16</sup> Branigan,<sup>17</sup> Hood,<sup>18</sup> Renfrew<sup>19</sup> and Warren,<sup>20</sup> with more specific and more recent contributions on MM dating coming from Åström,<sup>21</sup> Fiandra,<sup>22</sup> Schachermeyer,<sup>23</sup> Branigan,<sup>24</sup> Zoes,<sup>25</sup> Astour,<sup>26</sup> Betancourt,<sup>27</sup> Yule<sup>28</sup> and Cadogan.<sup>29</sup> Warren's resumé of the 'Problems of Chronology in Crete and the Aegean in the third and Earlier Second Millenium BC<sup>30</sup> serves as a vital reference for that period in this brief survey.

#### The Pre-palatial Period:

For this period, running from EMI-EMIII/MMIA, the absolute dates are now based on:

- (1) Pre - Dynastic - VI<sup>th</sup> Dynasty vases imported from Egypt.<sup>31</sup>
- (2) Similarities between Troy I and EMI.<sup>32</sup>
- (3) Comparison with contemporary or early N.W. Anatolian sites.<sup>33</sup>
- (4) C-14 dating results, particularly from the 'stratified or homogeneous settlement evidence' and a few tomb deposits.<sup>34</sup>

There are a variety of opinions as to the absolute dates for the start and finish of the Pre-palatial period some of which may be highlighted as follows. Weinberg, in his later paper<sup>35</sup> examining early Aegean chronology, would see the beginning of this period as c.3200 B.C. Branigan<sup>36</sup> and Marinatos<sup>37</sup> prefer a slightly



shorter span beginning at 2800 B.C., whereas Platon,<sup>38</sup> Schachermeyer,<sup>39</sup> Matz<sup>40</sup> and Alexiou<sup>41</sup> give the later date of 2600 B.C. as their starting point. From his excavations at Phaistos, Doro Levi<sup>42</sup> set out his absolute chronology, considering the pre-palatial period as only a "short transitional phase" lasting 150 years (2000-1850 B.C.) between his Chalcolithic (Late Neolithic) and Proto-palatial periods. Åström provides us with the lowest date - giving the beginning as MMIA as 1800 B.C.<sup>43</sup>

There is no definite division which differentiates the Pre- and Proto-palatial periods - the absence of the palaces themselves in the former period precludes any notable destruction layer. Platon,<sup>44</sup> Warren<sup>45</sup> and Branigan<sup>46</sup> would rather include MMIA in the former period: EMIII does not seem to appear as a distinct level at Knossos, and Evans himself never identified it as such but related it to isolated finds belonging to EMIII from Knossos, and from other sites in the east of Crete. Hood stated that "the material which Evans grouped as EMIII is contemporary with his MMIA at Knossos and some of his EMIII material may have been later, contemporary with Knossian MMIB or MMII".<sup>47</sup> If the MMIA material at Knossos were left as such, however, it would be considerable in quantity and perfectly capable of sub-division. Warren believes that EMIII at Knossos is "largely but not entirely contemporary with MMIA in the rest of Crete", though an "EMIII horizon exists before MMI at Knossos at least".<sup>48</sup> In his 1980 paper, on the "Problems of Chronology in Crete and the Aegean in Third and Earlier Second Millennium B.C." Warren summarily defines the EMI-MMII divisions from "selected, major, stratified or homogeneous deposits"<sup>49</sup> (and includes a list of the sites), related pottery

styles and new architectural appearances. This is followed by correlations within the Aegean,<sup>50</sup> thus establishing Minoan chronology within its broader chronological framework.

In the final analysis Warren sets the Pre-palatial Minoan divisions, based on "calibrated radiocarbon results in the early phases and this source plus historical synchronisms in the later"<sup>51</sup> as EMI: 3500-2900 B.C.; EMII: 2900-2300 B.C.; EMIII 2300-2150 B.C.; MMIA 2150-1930 B.C.

For the purposes of this thesis these dates have been accepted and at the same time it has seemed best to acknowledge the Pre-palatial period as overlapping with the Proto-palatial period at its end.<sup>52</sup>

#### The Proto-palatial Period

The absolute dating for this period, running from MMI(b)-II, has met with an equal amount of controversy. Åström<sup>53</sup> sees MMI as beginning in 1800 and the end of MMII as approximately 1600 B.C. For this he uses the evidence of the scarabs dated to c.1750 B.C. found in an MMIA context at Lebena;<sup>54</sup> the Hammurabi cylinder seal from MMIIb at Platanos;<sup>55</sup> a C<sup>14</sup> date of 1655 $\pm$ 120 B.C. for the first Proto-palatial phase at Phaistos,<sup>56</sup> and MMIIb pottery connections with Cypriote, Syrian and Hittite pottery in the late 18th c. B.C. Levi puts his Proto-palatial dates, from the evidence at Phaistos, as close to Åström's - namely 1850-1550-though he includes MMIII within this.

Warren recognises the buildings of the first palaces at Knossos and Phaistos as lying directly over MMIA deposits (c.2150-1930) and below MMII (1800-1700 B.C.) the latter of which is terminated by a major destruction c.1700 B.C.<sup>57</sup>

The ceramic parallels to metal vases in the Tōd treasure dated

to the time of the third Pharaoh of the XIIth Dynasty, Amenemhet II, are regularly cited as the appropriate historical synchronism for this period.<sup>58</sup> In addition to this is the discovery of Kamares Ware (MMIb) in late XIIth Dynasty Egyptian contexts - namely Kahun, Harageh and Abydos.<sup>59</sup>

Ellen Davis has argued against Minoan links to the Tõd cups, preferring to see some Anatolian influence.<sup>60</sup> Hood<sup>61</sup> and Kantor<sup>62</sup> have demonstrated effectively Minoan parallels from this treasure and Warren equally recognises these links though believes that MMIb "had begun by the time of Amenemhet II ... (c.1900 B.C.) ... at the latest."<sup>63</sup> In support of this hypothesis he cites the discovery of the MMIB or IIA sherds from Kahun and Harageh. Evidence for the chronology of MMII comes from a scarab found south of the Royal Road at Knossos dated to the late XIIth or early XIIIth Dynasty.<sup>64</sup> Warren confirms that the former Dynasty "ended in 1786 B.C., so that MMII began at the latest by about 1750 B.C. and may equally well have begun somewhat before 1800 B.C." The close of MMII is seen as resting at c.1700 B.C. Warren stresses that the combination of radiocarbon dating results and historical synchronisms has provided an absolute chronology slightly higher than argued by previously mentioned scholars for the Pre- and Proto-palatial periods and these dates are accepted here.

#### The Neo-palatial Period

This period begins in MMIII shortly after 1700 B.C. when the new palaces were rebuilt on the sites of the old. Although Levi<sup>66</sup> would like to see MMIII within the Proto-palatial period at Phaistos, in the rest of the island it is regarded as falling within the Neo-palatial period. Evans'<sup>67</sup> dates for this period run from MMIII-LMII and as evidence for its starting date he used the Egyptian alabaster

lid found at Knossos.<sup>68</sup> This synchronism is generally accepted although it has now been recognised that the deposit was not pure MMIII.<sup>69</sup> In addition is the dolphin jar mentioned by Schachermeyer and Kantor with parallels in MMIII-LMIA deposits at Pachyammos.<sup>70</sup>

The destruction of the second palaces has met with much controversy in recent years, but it is now thought to lie at LMIB (c.1450). Page, in his discussion of the volcanic eruption at Thera<sup>71</sup> drew up a list of the 'destruction and abandonment of Minoan sites'<sup>72</sup> - all dated to LMIB which include the Palaces of Phaistos, Mallia and Zakros, and the sites of Tyliossos, Nirou-Khani, Sklavokampo, Amnisos, Gournia, Pseira, Mochlos and Palaikastro.

Evans placed the destruction of Knossos at LMII: Hood,<sup>73</sup> however, found a stratified deposit of LMIB in a destruction level on the north side of the Royal Road in his excavations of 1957-61, thus allowing us to make an important addition to Pages' list.

The Neo-palatial buildings at Knossos, however, were reoccupied in LMII and continued to be inhabited until LMIIIA. For the purposes of this thesis, the Neo-palatial period is accepted as beginning in MMIII c.1700 and ending in LMIB c.1450.

To establish an absolute chronology for Minoan figurines in this thesis is certainly not possible, as outlined at the beginning of this chapter. This does not invalidate the necessity for a chronological time-scale in general and absolute terms however, which is of paramount importance in the establishment of a typology. Where figurines have been located in stratified deposits and recorded accurately the problems are greatly diminished, and these in turn may be used, by analogy, to date those figurines of less certain context, but of similar type. For the majority of figurines



however, their absolute dating is precluded by the nature of their contexts and/or the accuracy of the recording, or the fact that many remain unpublished. For this reason some have been grouped within broad chronological groupings without further subdivision. Future studies on the fabric of the figurines and associated ceramics would certainly be necessary for the eventual establishment of an absolute chronology.

X

NOTES. CHAPTER 3

1. The long Neolithic sequence identified at Knossos has been fully dated by radiocarbon analysis cf. Evans, J.D.: "Neolithic Knossos: the Growth of a Settlement" PPS 37 (1971) 95-117 and Warren, P.M.: "Radiocarbon Dating and Calibration and the Absolute Chronology of Late Neolithic and Early Minoan Crete" SMEA 17 (1976) 205-19. Studies on the figurines from the Neolithic period have been amply documented, in particular by Ucko, P.J.: *Anthropomorphic Figurines in the Near East, Egypt and Crete*, 1968.
2. In particular reference is being made to mainland influence on Crete during the re-occupation period after LMIB. A great number of figurines have been found from this period - for instance, the so-called 'goddesses with upraised arms' cf. Alexiou, S. 'Η Μινωϊκή θεά μεθ' υψωμένων χειρών' Chr.Kr. 1B' Jan.-April 1958, 179.
3. Evans, A.J.: "Essai de classification des époques de la civilization minoenne": résumé d'un discours fait au congrès d'archeologie à Athènes B.Quaritch 1906.
4. Åberg, N.: Bronzezeitliche und fruheisenzeitliche Chronologie, IV, 1933, 282.
5. Platon, N.: "La chronologie minoenne" in Zervos, C.: L'art de la Crete: neolithique et minoenne 1956, 512.
6. This is particularly applicable to tomb contexts. Burial deposits are also affected by continued re-use when old goods and bones are brushed aside to make way for new burials.
7. This applies mainly to early excavation reports such as St. Xanthoudides, Vaulted Tombs of Mesara 1924

8. In caves, for instance, where figurines are not always found in stratified deposits but in crags and crevices it has been impossible to date them.
9. Evans, A.J., 1906, op.cit.
10. Pendlebury, J.D.S.: The Archaeology of Crete, London, 1939.
11. Kantor, H.J.: The Relative Chronology of Egypt and its Foreign Correlations in Ehrich, R.W. ed.: Chronologies in Old World Archaeology 1965, 1-46. + "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millenium B.C. AJA 51 (1947) 1-103.
12. Smith, S.: "Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology" AJA 49 (1945) 1-24.
13. Mackenzie, D.: "The Middle Minoan Pottery of Knossos" JHS 26 (1906) 243-67.
14. Platon, N., 1956 op.cit.
15. Alexiou, St.: "Οἱ πρωτομινωικοὶ τάφοι τῆς Λεβήνας καὶ ἡ ἐξελίξις τῶν προανακτορικῶν ρυθμῶν" Kr.Chr. 1Ε'-1ΣΤ' 1961-62, 88-91.
16. Zoes, A.: "Phaistiaka" AE 1965 27-109 + "Υπαρχει PM III ἐποχή" Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς κρητολογικοῦ Συνερίου Athens 1968 A' 141-56.
17. Branigan, K.: "Radio-Carbon and the Absolute Chronology of the Aegean Bronze Age" Kr.Chr. KE' (1973) 352-74.
18. Hood, M.S.F.: "Stratigraphic Excavations at Knossos, 1957-61" Kr.Chr. 1Ε'-1ΣΤ' (1961-62) 92-98. + "The Early and Middle Minoan Periods at Knossos" BICS 13 (1966) 110-11.
19. Renfrew, C.: "Crete and the Cyclades before Rhadamanthus" Kr.Chr. 1Η' (1964) 107-41.
20. Warren, P.M.: "The First Minoan Stone Vases and Early Minoan Chronology" Kr.Chr. 1Θ' (1965) 7-43. + "The Early Bronze Age

- Chronology of Crete" in J.Filip ed.: Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques, Prague, 21-27 août 1966 608-611. + "Knossos and the Greek Mainland in the Third Millenium B.C." AAA 5 (1972) 392-98. + 1976 op.cit. 205-19.
21. Åström, P.: "Remarks on Middle Minoan Chronology" Kr.Chr.1E'-1ΣT' (1961-62) 137-50. + "New Evidence for Middle Minoan Chronology" Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς κρητολογικου Συνεδριου 1 (Athens 1968) 120-27. + "Is there an orthodox Middle Minoan Chronology? A Heretic against Believers", in Antichità Cretesi Studi in Onore di Doro Levi I (Catania n.d., ca.1978) 10-11. + "Methodological Viewpoints on Middle Minoan Chronology" Opus Ath. 12:4 (1978) 87-90.
22. Fiandra, E.: 'I Periodi Struttini del Primo Palazzo di Festòs Kr.Chr. 1E'-1ΣT' (1961-62) 112-26.
23. Schachermeyer, F.: "Ägäis und Orient" Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch - Historische Klasse, Denkschriften 93, 1967.
24. Branigan, K.: "The Mesara Tholoi and Middle Minoan Chronology" SMEA 5(1968) 12-24, 29-30.
25. Zoes, A.: Προβλήματα χρονολογιας της Μινωικης κεραμεικης Γουρνες - Τυλισος - Μαλια (Athens 1969).
26. Astour, M.C.: "Ugarit and the Aegean. A Brief Summary of Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence" in Orient and Occident. Festschrift Cyrus H. Gordon (1973) 17-27.
27. Betancourt, P.P.: "Some Chronological Problems in the Middle Minoan Dark-on-light Pottery of Eastern Crete" AJA 81 (1977) 341-53.



28. Yule, P.: "Platanos, Tholos B in Kreta: Bemerkungen zu den Siegeln" MarbWinck Prog. 1977-78, 3-5.
29. Cadogan, G.: "Dating the Aegean Bronze Age without Radiocarbon" Archaeometry 20 (1978) 209-14.
30. Warren, P.M. AJA 84 (1980) 487-499.
31. Warren, P.M.: Minoan Stone Vases 1969, 2-3; 1965 op.cit.; 1980 op.cit. Warren sees the importation of Egyptian Archaic Period and Old Kingdom stone bowls in Crete as "the least precise category of information" ... as they were "found either without context or in Middle and Late Minoan contexts, notably at Zakros, Katsamba and Knossos (1980 op.cit. 493). There is further, although again inprecise, chronological evidence, however, for "Minoan imitations of Egyptian alabaster vases of the VIth - XIIth Dynasties" providing parallels between that period and later EMII-MMI (1980 op.cit. 494).
32. Warren, P.M. 1969 op.cit. 2-3; 1965 op.cit. 7, 27. Here he sees the beginning of Troy I as not being any later than 2800 B.C.
33. For instance links between EMI and Troy I and Troy I - Yortan period in northwestern Anatolia cf. Warren, P.M. 1980 op.cit. 493.
34. ibid. 489 as published from Knossos, Mallia, Myrtos and Vasiliki and the tombs of Gournes, Lebena and Arkhanes Γ & E.
35. Weinberg, S.: "The Relative Chronology of the Aegean in the Stone and Early Bronze Ages" in R.W. Ehrich ed., 1965 op.cit. 285-320.
36. Branigan, K.: The Foundations of Palatial Crete: A Survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age 1970; 12, 35.

- + 1973 op.cit. 352-74.
37. Marinatos, S. & Homer, M.: Crete and Mycenae 1960, 177.
  38. Platon, N. 1956 op.cit. 152
  39. Schachermeyer, F.: Minoische Kultur, 44.
  40. Matz, F.: "Zur ägäischen Chronologie der frühen Bronze-zeit"  
Historia I (1950) 173-94. + Crete and Early Greece, Art of the World 10, 1962, 73.
  41. Alexiou, S. 1961-2 op.cit. 91.
  42. Levi, D.: The Recent Excavations at Phaistos, in Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology No.11, 1964, 5, 14.
  43. Åström, P. 1961-62 op.cit. 137-50; 1968 op.cit. 120-27.  
Åström bases this on three scarabs dated to 1750 B.C. located in an MMIA context at Lebena dated to 1750 B.C. (op.cit. above); an MMIA bridge-spouted jar found in an Early Cypriote IIIB context (1850-1800 B.C.) at Lapithos in Cyprus. Weinberg 1965 op.cit. would disagree with this on the basis of a late dynasty XII/Early Dynasty XIII scarab found in an MMIIIB deposit at Knossos.
  44. Platon, N. 1956 op.cit. 152
  45. Warren, P.M. 1980 op.cit. 492
  46. Branigan, K. 1970 op.cit. 12, 35.
  47. Hood, M.S.F. 1961-62 op.cit. 93. Hood believes that the earliest phase noted here, namely the 'pre-polychrome' phase, might in fact be termed as EMIII though this does not follow the EMIII characteristics as defined by Evans.
  48. Warren, P.M. 1969 op.cit. 2.
  49. Warren, P.M. 1980 op.cit. 489. He cites Knossos, Mallia, Myrtos, Vasiliki and 'other east Cretan villages, from Debla in the west and from the stratified or homogeneous deposits in the tombs of

Gournes, Lebena and Arkhanes Γ & E ...'.

50. As mentioned already.
51. ibid. 499.
52. The majority of figurines from the peak sanctuary sites of Crete are dated to the MMI period. In this thesis these have been categorized as belonging to the Proto-palatial period and hence must be of MMIB date. However it must be conceded that due to lack of proper stratigraphy, pottery analysis and publication many may belong to the Pre-Palatial period EMIII/MMIA particularly those revealing traces of light-on-dark painted decoration compatible with contemporary pottery. Such chronological distinctions however remain, at present, vague and because peak sanctuaries are regarded as of predominant Proto-palatial use the figurines have been confined to this period. The contextual evidence is discussed at a later stage.
53. Åström, P. 1968 op.cit. 120-127.
54. Alexiou, S. 1961-62 op.cit. 91, pt.1.
55. Åström, P. 1961-62 op.cit. 139, pt.1.
56. Warren, P.M. 1969 op.cit. and 1980 op.cit. 492 sees MMII as a distinct period at Knossos and Phaistos whilst MMIA-B pottery continued to be used in the rest of the island c.1800-1700.
57. Warren, P.M. 1980 op.cit. 492. The former phase is easily identified by the pottery, characterized by its polychrome decoration, use of a freely rotating wheel and "by thin walls, crinkly rims and other features imitating metal vases". Evans and Pendlebury also noted the presence of such a deposit below the West Court at Knossos.
58. Warren, P.M. 1980, 495; Bisson de la Roque, F.: Trésor de Tōd

- (Cairo 1950); Bisson de la Roque, F., Contenau, G. and Chapouthier, F.: Le Trésor de Tôd (Cairo 1953).
59. Hood, S.: "The Relative Chronology of the Aegean in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages" in J. Filip ed., 1970 op.cit. 605-606.
  60. Davis, E.N.: The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware (1977) 69-79.
  61. Hood, M.S.F. 1961-62 op.cit. 94
  62. Kantor, H.J. 1965 op.cit. 19-21.
  63. Warren, P.M. 1980 op.cit. 496-7.
  64. Hood, 1961-62, 96 and Pl.A'; 1966, 110.
  65. Warren, P.M. 1980 op.cit. 497.
  66. Levi, D.: "La Conclusione degli scavi a Festos" Annuario 27-28 N.S. (1965-66) 336.
  67. Evans, A.J. 1906 op.cit.
  68. Evans, A.J.: 'The Palace at Knossos' BSA 7 (1900-1901) 63-68.
  69. The deposit was said by Evans to be a mature phase of MMIIIA and he compared the context to the pure MMIIIA deposit of the NW Lustral Basin. Palmer, L.R. (Nestor 2 (1964) 323 & 325) disputes it on the grounds that the deposit was mixed - it contained two neolithic sherds and one Palace style sherd.
  70. Schachermeyer, F. 1965 op.cit. 45, 85; Fig.36, Pl.13; Kantor in Ehrich 1965 op.cit. 21; Seager, R.B.: The Cemetery of Pachymmos, Crete, Anthro. Pub. Univ. Penn., VII No.1 (1916) 19, 23.
  71. Page, D.L.: "The Santorini Volcano and the Destruction of Minoan Crete" The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies Supp.Paper, 1970, 3-8.
  72. ibid. 8, Fig. 5
  73. Hood, M.S.F. 1961-62 op.cit. 92.



## PART II

## CHAPTER 5. THE DATA-BASE

The figurines presented in this thesis are only a proportion of those that exist from the Minoan period covered. The actual number uncovered since the end of the last century is very extensive, but many of these remain unpublished and/or unavailable for study. In a few cases, particularly where hundreds of fragmented examples were found,<sup>1</sup> the material is yet to be registered in museum catalogues.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the number of figurines from these sites is completely unknown. This is not the general case however; for the most part, figurines from individual sites are adequately documented in archaeological reports and/or subsequent publications. I have divided the material available into the following categories:

- (a) Figurines that have been published and in addition have been studied by me.
- (b) Figurines that have been published, the publication being my sole source.
- (c) Figurines that are unpublished but recorded in museum catalogues and studied by me with permission.
- (d) Figurines that are unpublished, recorded in museum catalogues and drawn upon from this source only, with permission.

These distinctions are made clear in the following table which summarizes the data-base.

## KEY

1, 2, 3 etc.

Figurines studied and catalogued by author in this thesis. Published where specified.

125, 126, 131 etc.

Publication or Museum number allocated to figurines. Not studied by author *in corpore*. Published where specified.

AKI, ARI

Figurines not studied by author, and without museum number or excavation find number in published sources. Therefore initial letters of site and number allocated as appropriate.

TOTAL

Total number of figurines known to author, as seen and/or recorded in museum registers and/or published sources, as specified in text.

TABLE I LOCATION							SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
AGIA TRIADHA							TOMB (A)	BANTI 1930-31	PUBLISHED <sup>3</sup> ANNUARIO, 13-14, 189, fig. 58	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 125, 126, 131	13
AGIOS KYRILLOS							TOMB	SAKELLARAKIS 1967	PUBLISHED <sup>4</sup> AAA Vol. 1 1968, 50-53, pl. 3 + 4 AE 1967 (1968), 216, pl. 195a.	AKI <sup>5</sup>	1
ARCHANES							TOMB (T) CEMETERY	SAKELLARAKIS 1971 on.	PUBLISHED <sup>6</sup> PAE 1972 (1974) 336, pl. 285. PAE 1978 (1980), 309 ERGON 1971 (1972), 242 pl. 290. ERGON 1973 (1974) 116, pl. 109. ERGON 1976 (1977), 175 pl. 153. ERGON 1980 (1981), 48, pl. 104. ERGON 1981 (1982), 70, pl. 119 KUNST DER KYK. 1976, 149. AE 1983 53, pl. 28b-d.	ARI0	14
										AR7	
										ARI2	
										AR13 AR14 AR6 AR7	
GOURNES							TOMB (A)	HADZITHAKIS	PUBLISHED <sup>7</sup> A. DELTION 4 1918 (1921), 54, pl. 3.	GOU1	1
KALATHIANA							TOMB (K)	XANTHOUDIDES	PUBLISHED VTM 1924 84, pl. 8	182	1

96					
LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
KAMILARI	TOMB (A)	LEVI 1961	PUBLISHED ANNUARIO 39-40 vol.23 N.S.	11, 12, 13 3386, 3388, 3387 (Heads)	+3 models +3 heads
KOUMASA	TOMBS (A,B,C)	XANTHOUDIDES 1924	PUBLISHED V.T.M. 1924 3, pl.21 & 30.	14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 124, 129, 131, 525	18
LEBENA	TOMB	ALEXIOU 1960	PUBLISHED <sup>8</sup> ILN 1960 AUG.6 Kr.Chr. 15-16	LEB1 LEB2 LEB3 LEB4 LEB5 LEB6 LEB7	7
LEND A	TOMB (I, II)	SAKELLARAKIS 1959-60	PUBLISHED AE 1983 49, pl.A.	LEN1 LEN2 LEN3	3
MOCHLOS	TOMB	SEAGER 1912	PUBLISHED EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS, 49.IV, 16 Figs. 20, 21	28	1
PLATANOS	TOMB	XANTHOUDIDES	PUBLISHED VTM p.121-2, pl.xv.	29, 30, 31, 32 222	5
PORTI	TOMB (II)	XANTHOUDIDES 1924	PUBLISHED VTM 67, pl.30b.	33, 34, 35	3
PYRGOS	TOMB	XANTHOUDIDES 1918	A. DELTION 1918 162, pl.14.	PYR1 PYR2 PYR3 PYR4 PYR5 PYR6 PYR7 PYR8	8
SIVA	TOMB (S)	PARIBENI 1913	AUSONIA 8	SIV1	1



LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
AGIOS ONOPHRIOS	BURIAL DEPOSIT	EVANS 1895	PUBLISHED CRETAN PICTOGRAPHS	A01 A02 A03 A04	4
TEKES	BURIAL DEPOSIT	MARINATOS 1930	PUBLISHED AA 1933, 298, Fig.9-12.	TK1 TK2 TK3 TK4 TK5 TK6 (DOUBLE)	6
ARVI	PEAK SANCTUARY	CHANCE FIND (ACQUISITION)	UNPUBLISHED	36	1
JUKTAS	PEAK SANCTUARY	KARETSOU 1974 ON.	PUBLISHED + UNPUBLISHED PAE 1974 (1976) 234-235, p1.175(a), 176(a) PAE 1975 (1977) 335-9, p1.264 & 268 PAE 1976 (1978) 255, p1.230(a) PAE 1977(B) (1980) 419, p1.222 a, b, c AE 1978 (1980) 256, p1.169 (e) ERGON 1975 (1976) 176, p1.175 ERGON 1977 (1978) 181, p1.125 ERGON 1980 (1981) 46, Fig.102.	37, 38 39, 40, 41, 42 <sup>9</sup> J2 J9 J10 J11 (J12 J13 J14 J15 J16 J17) <sup>11</sup> J6 J7 J3 J4 J5 J1  J8	UNKNOWN <sup>10</sup> 23 KNOWN

LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
KOPHINAS	PEAK SANCTUARY	S.ALEXIOU N.PLATON	PUBLISHED + UNPUBLISHED A.DELTION 19 1964 (1967) vol.B1, 3 <sup>1</sup> , pl.514, 437. A.DELTION 18 1963. Kr.Chr. 313, pl.363a.	43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75 14173, 14126, 14152, 14153, 14167, 14168, 14172, 14199, 14152, 14153, 14167, 14168, 14172, 14199, 14202, 14236, 14237, 14238, 14239, 14240, 14242, 14254, 14163, 14223, 14248, 14146, 14164, 14165, 14192, 14244, 14246, 14200, 14201, 14206, 14207, 14208, 14209, 14213, 14166, 14220, 14221, 14130, 14134, 14162, 14175, 14176, 14183, 14128, 14131, 14132, 14133, 14135, 14135-39, 14141-45, 14149, 14151, 14154, 14177-80, 14184-8, 14185, 14187-90, 14193-5, 14210-12, 14214-17, 14219, 14224, 14151, 14161, 14250, 14267, 14156, (112, 327, 326, 328)13	UNKNOWN  123 KNOWN
MAZA	PEAK SANCTUARY	N.PLATON 1947-1952	PUBLISHED UNPUBLISHED Kr.Chr. E'. 128, 1952 pl.E1 No. 1, 5, 10, 16	82, (83, 84, 85)14 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81 9851, 9862 <sup>2</sup> , 9850, 9852 9853, 9858, 9855, 9854, 9859, 9860, 986115	UNKNOWN  19 KNOWN
PETSOPHA	PEAK SANCTUARY	MYRES 1902	PUBLISHED <sup>16</sup> UNPUBLISHED BSA vol.9, 1902-3, 356, pl.VIII-XII.	86, 87, 88, 90, 97, 99, 100, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106 <sup>17</sup>	UNKNOWN 21 SEEN

LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
PISKOKEPHALO	PEAK SANCTUARY	N.PLATON 1951 on.	PUBLISHED <sup>18</sup>  UNPUBLISHED Kr.Chr. 5 1951 (a), 124, pl.E <sup>1</sup> AE 1952 (1955), 631, pl.12-4.	107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, (124-50) (Heads) 9831, 9750, 9832, 9828, 9829, 9762, 9763, 9773x <sup>2</sup> , 9826, 9814x <sup>2</sup> , 9716 9718, 9734, 9840, 9823, 9720, 9725, 9727, 9728, 9729, 9733, 9735, 9738, 9745, 9749, 9760, 9767, 9765, 9766, 9841, 9712, 9761, 9764, 9833 <sup>19</sup>	UNKNOWN 80 KNOWN
PRINIAS	PEAK SANCTUARY	DAVARAS	UNPUBLISHED	151, 152, 153, 154, 155 <sup>20</sup>	UNKNOWN
TRAOSTALOS	PEAK SANCTUARY	DAVARAS	(PUBLISHED) <sup>21</sup> UNPUBLISHED	156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169 16499, 16500, 16477, 16478, 16438, 16440, 16441, 16466-73, 16562, 16464, 16480, 16481, 16560, 16537 (x68), 16540 (x7), 16544 (x2), 16552 (x10), 16553 (x3), 16558 (x2), 16561, 16865, 16535 (x15), 16536 (x14), 16563, 16564, 16567, 16503-30, 16531 (x8), 16532 (x17), 16533 (x18), 16534 (x23), 16538 (x9), 16539 (x7), 16541 (x8), 16542 (x3), 16543 (x2), 16545(x2), 16546(x2), 16547, 1654 51, 16554(x14),16555(x2), 16577(x14), 16559, 16442, 16447, 16448, 16476, 16479, 16443, 16445, 16463, 16497, 16496	320 KNOWN



LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
TRAOSTALOS (cont.)				(2628, 2629, 2630, 2631) <sup>22</sup>	
PSYCHRO	CAVE	HALBHERR } 1886 HAZZIDAKIS } EVANS 1896-7 HOGARTH 1899/1900	PUBLISHED MUSEO 2 1888, 689-766. BSA 6 1899-1900, 94-116.	170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 23 426, 435, 437, 438, 439, 621, 1833 <sup>24</sup>	12
SKOTEINO	CAVE	DAVARAS 1962	PUBLISHED BCH 1969, 622, pl.xi a-c pl.xii a-c pl.xiii a-c	2753, 2754, 2575	3
TRAPEZA	CAVE	H.W.PENDLEBURY M.B.MONEY-COUTTS 1935	PUBLISHED BSA vol.36 1936, 116.	175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, TR1 TR6 TR7 TR8 TR10 TR11 TR12 TR14	14
AGIA TRIADHA	VILLA	HALBHERR 1962 BANTI 1939-43	PUBLISHED MONT.ANT. 13, 1903 70, Figs. 51-55. ANNUARIO 3-5 N.S. 1941-43, 18, Figs. 6a-b, 7, 8a-c. ANNUARIO 39 N.S. 53, Figs. 22-25.	181, 182, 183, 184  71879, 749, 2312, 2054, 750, 753, 75149, 752, 759 <sup>25</sup>  AT1 AT2 AT3	16
CHAMAIZI	HOUSE(?)	XANTHOUDIDES 1906	AE 1906, 135-142, Figs.1-3.	185, 186, 187	3



121 LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
KNOSSOS	(a) PALACE  (b) ROYAL ROAD  (c) HOUSE OF THE SACRIFICED OXEN	EVANS 1900 on.  S. HOOD 1957-61  EVANS	PUBLISHED BSA 1900 on. P.M. I-IV 1924/-28/-30/-35 esp. BSA 8 1901-2, 96-101.  UNPUBLISHED  UNPUBLISHED	199, 202, 203 <sup>26</sup> KN1 KN2 KN3  189, 190, 191 <sup>27</sup> , 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 200 <sup>27</sup> 188, 198, 201 <sup>28</sup>	6  10 3 <u>19</u>
MALLIA	(a) PALACE  (b) LE QUARTIER Δ  (c) LE QUARTIER E	F. CHAPOUTHIER J. CHARBONNEAUX 1922-1924 H. VAN EFFENTERRE Y. TZEDAKIS  P. DEMARGNE H. GALLET DE SAN- TERRE 1921-1948 O. PELON 1963-1966 J. DESHAYES A. DESSENNE 1948- 1954	PUBLISHED MALLIA I 1922-1924 (1928), 56-7, pl. xxx1. MALLIA MAISON I Et. Cret. 9, pl. 16 A. DELTION 32 1977 (1982) pl. 75a Et. Cret. IX MALLIA MAISON I 1921-1948 (1953), 57, pl. 16. Et. Cret. 16 MALLIA MAISON III 1963-1966 (1970), 47, pl. 14. Et. Cret. 11 MALLIA MAISON II 1948-54 (1959), 147, pl. 52, 2 & 3.	MAL1 MAL2  HM22.170 HM22.134  961, 280  204, 205, 208, 271  213, 9160 <sup>29</sup>	2  2 4 2

LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
MALLIA (cont.)	(d) LE QUARTIER MU	B.DETOURNAY J-C. POURSAT F.VANDENABEELE 1978-9	Et.Cret. 26 1980	206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214	7 <hr/>
MYRTOS (FOURNOU KORIFI)	SETTLEMENT	WARREN 1967-8	PUBLISHED MYRTOS 1969, 222, Fig.95, pl.71-2.	215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221 MYR1	8
PHAISTOS	PALACE	PERNIER-BANTI 1950 LEVI 1961-62	PUBLISHED ANNUARIO VOL. 39-40 (23-24 NS) 1961-2, 395, 34 b, c. ANNUARIO VOL. 38 (21-22 NS) 1959-60, 432, Fig.2.	222, 223, 224, 225, 226 PH1 30	6
PALAIKASTRO	SETTLEMENT	R.C.BOSANQUET R.M.DAWKINS 1902-6.	PUBLISHED BSA SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER 1, 1923 (UNPUBLISHED OBJECTS FROM PALAIKASTRO 1902-6) 123, Fig.102, 3.	PK1 PK2 PK3 31	3
SITEIA (?)	CHANCE FIND	-	UNPUBLISHED	227 32	1
VASILIKI	SETTLEMENT	A.ZOES 1972-78	PUBLISHED PAE 1972 (1974), 282, pl. 255 a-b. PAE 1976 (1978), 444, pl. 245 G-F. PAE 1978 (1980), 302, pl. 191b.	VAS1 VAS2 VAS3	3

LOCATION	SITE	EXCAVATORS	PUBLICATION	FIGURINES	TOTAL
ZAKROS	PALACE	N. PLATON 1966/-69/-71/-72 /-75	PUBLISHED UNPUBLISHED PAE 1975 (1977) 343, pl. 28, 6a.	228, 229, 230, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 231 ZAK133	11
ZOU	HOUSE	N. PLATON	PUBLISHED ERGON 1956 (1957), 110.	ZOU1	1

As much of the material was unpublished and unavailable for study from those sites where figurines predominated (note in particular the peak sanctuary sites in the table), it was important to obtain at least a cross-section of figurines from the different types of sites and periods. The results can never be satisfactory on such a basis as this but it may at least form the beginning of a typological survey of figurines to be added to in the future.

The greatest problem - the gaps - as the table reveals, lie with the peak sanctuary sites. From Petsopha twenty-one of the most complete and representative examples were chosen for study: many remain on display in the Herakleion and Agios Nikolaos Museums that were not studied. The latter were observed as best as possible. Likewise from Prinias only five were studied<sup>34</sup> - with a great number on display in the Agios Nikolaos Museum for observation. From Kophinas, Maza, Piskokephalo and Traostalos, although only a small proportion was studied from each site, it was at least possible to obtain a record of what had been registered in the Museum catalogue at Herakleion. Whether this represents the total is still not known: certainly from Kophinas a number remain unregistered in the Museum basement. It does, however, give us some idea of the great quantity deposited at these sites and from this the sex and state of preservation of those figurines uncovered. From Kophinas 123 figurines and/or fragments are known to have been uncovered, from which there are only five whole figures - and four of these are bronze. Forty-two represent upper parts only; seven lower parts; thirteen 'three-quarter' (or otherwise) figures and fifty-six heads. From Maza only twenty-two figurines are known to have been uncovered of which there are three whole figures; six upper parts; one lower part (feet on base); seven



'three-quarter' (or otherwise) figures and six heads. Piskokephalo is known to have produced eighty figurines and/or fragments. Of this over half are heads (forty-one); sixteen are upper parts, twelve lower parts, ten 'three-quarter' (or otherwise) and only one whole figure. The most interesting results, however, come from Traostalos where three hundred and twenty-one figurines and/or fragments are known to have been uncovered. Of this number no less than two hundred and eighty-one are heads. The museum catalogue revealed that certain of these heads had duplicates - and in some cases a great number, (though none were personally seen or studied). Number 16537 for instance was one of sixty-eight identical heads<sup>35</sup> and number 16534 one of twenty-three identical heads<sup>36</sup> (and so on, as indicated in the tables). One can be sure that they were not completely identical as there were no moulds during this time. However this does not detract from the fact that many very similar types were produced which would certainly indicate some degree of mass production. In addition the degree of duplication is not met with, so far as we know, on any other peak sanctuary.<sup>37</sup> Heads apart, only eight whole figurines have been found at Traostalos and four of these are bronze; fifteen upper parts; four lower parts; twelve 'three-quarter' (or otherwise) figures and one hand.

Platon in 'Το ἱερὸν Μαζα καὶ τὰ μινωϊκὰ ἱερά κορυφῆς'<sup>38</sup> includes a lengthy discussion on the range and types of figurines from Piskokephalo. He has two categories, male and female.<sup>39</sup> Within the male category he discusses, separately, whole figures, sections from the waist downwards (i.e. lower parts without feet), sections from the lower shin to the bottom part of the upper joints in the leg and finally isolated fragments relating to male figurines (e.g. cod pieces). The female

figurines are discussed more generally, though there is only a limited number of specific references in either category of male and female. Myres, in his report on the excavation at Petsopha<sup>40</sup> provides a lengthy and detailed discussion of male and female figurines<sup>41</sup> including their ranges in height, stance, method of construction, dress and other details; seated figures and votive limbs.<sup>42</sup> As with Piskokephalo there is little specific reference, however, and few of the figurines are actually illustrated. For this reason the actual number uncovered is unknown.

Figurines from tombs and settlements are not only fewer in number but have been amply documented in reports or recorded in catalogues. Those uncovered by Hood in his excavations of the Royal Road at Knossos from 1957-61, provide us with a welcome addition to figurines found within settlement contexts (eighty-one are known to date), together with the unpublished ones from the Palace of Zakros.<sup>43</sup> The figurines from caves are not only amply documented in archaeological reports but have been extensively studied in subsequent publications by individual researchers.<sup>44</sup> The main problem here is one of chronology, since they have been very difficult to date because of the nature of the context. The twenty-nine figurines cited here are only those thought to fall within the Minoan period covered in this thesis. Despite the large gaps inherent in the data-base, therefore, examples have been drawn and obtained from a wide cross-section of periods and sites. From this it is hoped that a typology may be developed that can be added to at any point in the future.

TABLE 6: KOPHINAS  
SEX AND PRESERVATION

SEX AND PRESERVATION									
SEX	WHOLE FIGURE	UPPER PART			LOWER PART	HEAD OR HAND ONLY		OTHER (+ 3/4 FIGURE)	
MALE		14126	14174	14239	14200	14166	14158 14159 14161 14169 14171 14247 14250 14251		
		14140	14192	14240	14201	14220			
		14152	14199	14241	14206				
		14153	14202	14242	14207				
		14157	14204	14243	14208				
		14167	14205	14245	14209				
		14168	14236	14249	14213				
		14172	14237	14253					
14170	14238	14245							
FEMALE		14163				14221	14175	14203	
		14223				14130	14176	14261	
		14248				14134	14183	14264	
					14162		14267		
HERMAPHRODITE									
CAN'T SAY	14173	14146	14165			14127	14154	14156	
		14147	14192			14128	14177-		
		14148	14222			14129	14180		
		14155	14244			14131-	14181		
		14160	14246			14133	14184		
		14164	14252			14135-	14185		
						14139	14186		
						14141-	14187-		
KEY: 14173 = not seen or studied. 14140 = seen and studied. UPPER, LOWER, ETC. PARTS = FRAGMENTARY STATE AS FAR AS IS KNOWN NOT FINISHED AS SUCH.									
					14145	14190			
					14149	14191			
					14150	14193-			
					14151	14198			



SEX AND PRESERVATION					
SEX	WHOLE FIGURE	UPPER PART	LOWER PART	HEAD OR HAND ONLY	OTHER (+ $\frac{1}{2}$ FIGURE)
MALE	9851	9849		9855 (3) 9855 9865	9854 (seated)
		9850			
		9852			
		9853			
		9856			
FEMALE	9862 (2)	9857			9859 9860 9861 9863 9864 (2)
HERMAPHRODITE					
CAN'T SAY			9858 (2 feet on base)		



TABLE 8: PISKOKEPHALO

SEX AND PRESERVATION					
SEX	WHOLE FIGURE	UPPER PART	LOWER PART	HEAD OR HAND ONLY	OTHER (+ $\frac{1}{2}$ FIGURE)
MALE	9831	9756 9750 9751 9752	9842 9825 9828 9829	9716 9734 9718 9824 9721 9840 9724 9726	9749 9760 9767
FEMALE		9764 9767 9768 (2) 9778 9832	9762 9763 9773 (2) 9773 9826	9719 9741 9730 9742 9731 9743 9732 9744 9736 9746 9737 9823 9739 9837 9740 9838	9765 9766 9841
HERMAPHRODITE					
CAN'T SAY		9753 9754 9757 9758 9759 9777	9814 (2)	9713 9727 9748 9714 9728 9715 9729 9717 9733 9720 9735 9722 9738 9723 9745 9725 9747	9712 9761 9764 9833

TABLE 9: TRAOSTALOS  
SEX AND PRESERVATION

SEX	WHOLE FIGURE	UPPER PART	LOWER PART	HEAD OR HAND ONLY	OTHER (+½ FIGURE)
MALE	16499	16438	16480	16537 (68)	16439
	16500	16440	16481	16540 (7)	16496(seate
		16441	16560 (seated)	16544 (2)	16447
		16466-16473		16552 (10)	16448
		16474		16553 (3)	16475
		16562		16558 (2)	16476 } seated
					16479 }
FEMALE		16464	16446	16535 (15)	16443
		16465		16536 (14)	16444
				16563	16445
				16564	16463
				16567	
HERMAPHRODITE					
CAN'T SAY	16477			16503-16530	16497 (hand)
	16478			16531 (8)	
				16541 (8)	
				16532 (17)	16542 (3)
				16533 (18)	16543 (2)
				16534 (23)	16545 (2)
				16538 (9)	16546 (2)
				16539 (7)	16547-16551
				16554 (14)	

TABLE 10: SUMMARY

SITE	TOTAL RECOVERED	TOTAL STUDIED	TOTAL PUBLISHED
AGIA TRIADHA	13	10	13
AGIOS KYRILLOS	1	-	-
ARCHANES	?14+	-	-
GOURNES	1	-	1
KOUMASA	18	14	18
KALATHIANA	1	-	1
KAMILARI	6	3	6
LEBENA	6	-	4
LENDA	3	-	3
MOCHLOS	1	1	1
PLATANOS	5	4	5
PYRGOS	8	-	8
SIVA	1	-	1
AGIOS ONOUPHRIOS	4	-	4
TEKES	6	-	6
ARVI	?1+	1	-
JUKTAS	?26+	6	24
KOPHINAS	?123+	33	2
MAZA	?19+	10	16
PETSOPHA	?21+	21	28
PISKOKEPHALO	?80+	44	62
PRINIAS	?5+	5	-
TRAOSTALOS	?320+	14	3
PSYCHRO	12	5	12
SKOTEINO	3	-	3
TRAPEZA	14	6	14
AGIA TRIADHA	16	4	16
CHAMAIZI	3	3	3
KNOSSOS	?20	16	4
MALLIA	19	11	19
MYRTOS	8	7	8
PHAISTOS	?6	5	2
PALAIKASTRO	3	-	3
SITEIA	1	1	-
VASILIKI	?3+	-	3
ZAKROS	11	10	2
ZOU	1	-	1

## NOTES. CHAPTER 5

1. Particular reference is being made here to peak sanctuary sites where large deposits of figurines were found.
2. This was noted with Kophinas (peak sanctuary) where a number of crates of fragmented pieces of figurines sit in the museum basement at Herakleion - still unregistered in the museum catalogue.
3. Subsequent publications by other scholars for their individual research are not included in this list - only the original publication by the excavator(s).
4. Figurines mentioned and/or illustrated in interim accounts are in fact deemed unpublished in Greece - here I refer to such periodicals as Athens Annals of Archaeology, Ἀρχαιολογικά; The Archaeological Society's Ergon or its Praktika; the Chronika section of Archaeologikon Deltion and the Chronika of Archaeologike Ephemeris. Where figurines were included in these works they were often not available for study, as here at Agios Kyrillos and Archanes.
5. Where no number is given in a publication, the initials of the site and a number have been allocated to the figurines, as here (and subsequently).
6. Not available for study (see N.4).
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. No.'s 37 & 38 are unpublished but were studied with kind permission from A. Karetsou.
10. The actual number of figurines from Juktas is unknown to me and the relevant museum catalogue was not available.



11. No.'s J12-J17 are all bronzes. They are not identified or drawn here as they were not seen and are unpublished.
12. Alexiou published two figurines from Kophinas in the Deltion volumes mentioned - one bronze and one clay. The site was more extensively excavated by N. Platon but nothing has yet been published.
13. No.'s 112, 327, 326, 328 are bronze figurines. This list beginning at 14173 was obtained from the museum catalogue at Herakleion and thus reflected in those figurines registered there. A summary is provided in Table 6 of the sex and preservation of these figurines.
14. No.'s 83, 84, 85 although published in Kr.Chr. by Platon as belonging to the site of Maza are registered in the museum catalogue as coming from 'Β τάφος Σταμνίων Πεδιαδος' excavated in 1952 and not 1947 when Maza was excavated.
15. A summary of the sex and preservation of the registered figurines from Maza can be seen in Table 7.
16. Myres published a number of the figurines from Petsopha in the BSA, citing the most typical and well preserved examples. Many, however, remain unpublished in the Herakleion and Agios Nikolaos museums.
17. No.'s 89 and 90 are in the Ashmolean museum, Oxford; 91-106 in the Herakleion museum, Crete, and 86-88 in the Agios Nikolaos museum (unpublished).
18. Platon published many good examples from Piskokephalo: a much larger number remain unpublished however. No.'s 107-117 are published in ΠΑΕ 1952 (as cited) and No. 123 is published in Kr.Chr. 5 1951 (as cited).

19. A summary of sex and preservation of all these figurines can be seen in Table 8.
20. These figurines were studied with kind permission from Dr. Davaras at the Agios Nikolaos museum. One, No. 155 - a chance find from the area, was published by A. ΔΕΜΠΡΕΩΝ in A. Deltion 30 1975 (1983) B'2chronika 341, pl.248(a).
21. Only three figurines from Traostalos have been published. The remaining unpublished ones are now in both the Herakleion and Agios Nikolaos museums. Those registered in the catalogue of the Herakleion museum were all noted. It is unknown whether any remain unregistered in this museum or how many exist in the Agios Nikolaos museum.
22. No.'s 2628-2631 are bronzes.
23. These were seen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and are all bronze.
24. Added to this list from the Herakleion museum one might mention those thought to be from Psychro from other museums - namely BR4294 (Louvre, Paris)(cf. Verlinden, C. p.186, pl.7, No.20); AE1162 (Ashmolean, Oxford)(cf. Verlinden, C. 191, pl.19, No.38); AE2241 (Ashmolean, Oxford)(cf. Verlinden, C. p.198, pl.38, No.82); AE2242 (Ashmolean, Oxford)(cf. Verlinden, C. p.198, pl.38, No.83). Many other figurines were found at Psychro but belonging to the Post-palatial period and beyond. The exact dating of the figurines cited here is not certain but they are regarded as falling within the period covered in this thesis - i.e. they do not exceed LMIB.
25. No.'s 71879ff - 759 are bronzes. No. 71879 and 75149 are in the Museo di Pigorini, Rome (Verlinden, C. p.192, pl.20, No.40;

- p.198, pl.36, No.79 respectively) and the rest in the Herakleion Museum.
26. No.'s 199, 202, 203 are unpublished. No.199 is in the Ashmolean Museum and 202 and 203 in the Herakleion Museum.
  27. These were studied with the kind permission of S. Hood.
  28. No.'s 188, 198, 201 placed with the above in the Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, are thought by S. Hood to be from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen excavated by Evans. See PM2, Part 1, 301-11.
  29. One more head was found from Quartier E but is thought to belong to LMIII cf. Mallia Maison II, p.147, No.3, Note 3.
  30. Levi, D., 'Festòs e La Civiltà Minoica', 1976, 441, Pl.221d, e. Other figurines have been uncovered at Phaistos but belong to a later period, cf. C. Laviosa Annuario ('Sull' origine degli idoletti fittili micenei') 1963-64, vol. XLI-XLII (XXV-XXVI N.5) 7-25, pls. 1-4, 6, 7, 9-13, 16-18.
  31. No.'s *PK2* and *PK3* are bronze and *PK1* is clay. One other bronze figurine was found here but dated to LMII and thus not included.
  32. Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
  33. No.'s 212 and *ZAK1* are the only two figurines published. The remainder were studied with the kind permission of N. Platon.
  34. With kind permission from C. Davaras.
  35. These heads, thought to be male, are characterised by their bald rounded heads, pierced dot eyes and small or unclear noses. Although not seen, many heads fitting this description can be seen from the peak sanctuary site of Prinias on display in the Agios Nikolaos Museum. Here too they are the most common and numerous type, each one being almost identical to the next except perhaps in slight variations in size.

36. No information was provided as to the details of these heads, except that they were all similar and of an undistinguishable sex.
37. Except for Prinias (above) though exact numbers are not known.
38. Platon, N. Kr.Chr. ETOC E' Jan.-April 1951, 124.
39. ibid. 129, and 130-31 respectively.
40. Myres, J.L.: 'The Sanctuary-site of Petsopha' BSA vol.9 1902-3, 356, pl.VII-XIII.
41. ibid. 361, and 367 respectively.
42. ibid. 373, and 374 respectively.
43. Studied with kind permission from S. Hood and N. Platon respectively.
44. Note in particular Tyree, E.L.: Cretan Sacred Caves: Archaeological Evidence. Diss. 1974 Univ. of Missouri, U.S.A., and Verlinden, C.: 'Les Statuettes Anthropomorphes Cretoises en bronze et en plomb, du III<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> siecle av J-C. 1984, for the bronze and lead figurines.



## CHAPTER 6. THE CONTEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Context plays an important role in two main spheres - firstly, the dating of objects and secondly, their subsequent interpretation. With regard to the former one may refer to Part I, chapter 4 of this thesis where some of the problems were discussed with regard to chronology.

This chapter is concerned with the presentation of the contextual evidence provided by published sources for the figurines in this thesis - i.e. from what types of sites, contexts and deposits they were brought to light. For the unpublished material there are naturally no details of contexts or deposits available - merely the site name with perhaps some general published information on the nature of the site.<sup>1</sup> For the published material it is unfortunate that in some cases precise details of context and deposits are also lacking,<sup>2</sup> though for the majority it is well documented.

The importance of discussing the contextual evidence lies mainly with the question of interpretation. One must understand how and where the figurines were deposited and what they were found with - (i.e. their associated assemblages), in order to make any real assessment of their use and significance. This whole question of 'context' and its value for the interpretation of an artefact, or group of artefacts, is a topic that has been raised before,<sup>3</sup> particularly where prehistoric sites are involved. Some<sup>4</sup> insist that meaning can only be inferred from context, whilst others<sup>5</sup> argue that that would inevitably lead to a vicious circle 'where the meaning of every feature would depend on the interpretation of other kinds - and that it would be better to set out an explanation with hypotheses about any group of artefacts to learn the

meaning of context'. There is no doubt that context is an important element in the interpretation of artefacts, even if it is conceded that it is not the only indicator of meaning and/or use. The idea of setting out an explanation about a group of artefacts, however, to learn the meaning of context would seem to be a risky task and based on a number of assumptions and preconceived ideas. Treated in isolation, figurines will tell us little of their predetermined use and significance. In the presentation of the contextual evidence I have found it best to tabulate the information into four columns giving the location of the site, <sup>the find spot,</sup> the context, ~~deposit~~ and associated finds of the figurines. A fifth column provides a chronological scale to the material.

TABLE II

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
AGIA TRIADHA	TOMB A INSIDE THOLOS	MIXED BURIAL STRATUM - HUMAN AND ANIMAL BONES WITH EARTH. DIS- TURBED AND LOOTED.	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, STONE VASES, LIBATION VESSELS, DAGGERS, SCRAPERS, GOLD JEWELRY, SEALSTONES, LAMPS, EGYPTIAN STONE VASE	EMI - MMI/II <sup>6</sup> ----- FIGS.: EMI I
AGIOS KYRILLOS	ROOM EAST OF THOLOS	DISTURBED AND LOOTED MIXED STRATUM	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, STONE VASES, LIBATION VESSELS, SEALSTONES, BULL RAYTON	EMIII-MM/a ----- MMI
ARCHANES	FOURNI CEMETERY THOLOS T: AR4 AR5 AR9  AR16 AR12 AR8 CEMETERY NR. ROCKS: AR10 EAST OF BUILDINGS 18 & 19 BETWEEN THOLOI T & E: AR6 AR7 BURIAL BUILDING 7 S. OF THOLOS B: AR11 BURIAL BUILDING 9 N.W. ROOM: AR13 AR14 W. OF BURIAL BUILD- INGS 18 & 19: AR15	CLEANING OF LOWEST LEVEL OF THOLOS WALL ON INSIDE UNDER W. SECTION OF SARCOPHAGUS 7 MIXED BURIAL STRATUM BELOW SURFACE SOIL NR. ROCKS (0.20m. DEPTH) CLEANING OF AREA ROUND ROCKS (0.10m. DEPTH)  - - MIXED STRATUM -	BLADES, BRONZE EARRING, BRONZE CUTTER, STONE VESSELS, SEALSTONES, CLAY VES- SELS, PENDANTS, NEEDLES, SILVER & LEAD OBJECTS - - - BOTTOM HALF OF HUMAN SKULL & FRAG- MENTS OF POTTERY - POTTERY FRAGMENTS, SKULLS & HUMAN BONES & EARTH	EMI-LM ----- EMIII  PROBABLY EMII/III PROBABLY EMII/III  EMII/III-LMI EMIII/MMI EMII/III



LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
ARCHENES (cont.)	BURIAL BUILDING 5 S. OF ROOM 4 & W. OF ROOM 3: AR1 AR2 AR3	MIXED BURIAL STRATA- POTTERY, SEALSTONES, GOLD, JEWELRY	-	EMII/III
COURNES	TOMB A INSIDE	MIXED-BURIAL STRATUM	JUGS, CUPS, POTS, SMALL AMPHORAE, SEALSTONES, GEMS	EMII
KALATHIANA	TOMB THOLOS K	MIXED BURIAL STRATUM WITH BONES, EARTH & OTHER OBJECTS, FIRE TRACES	CLAY VESSELS & FRAGMENTS, COPPER DAGGERS, TWEEZERS, CUTTERS, SEALS, BEADS	EMII
KAMILARI	TOMB I	BURIAL STRATUM TRACES OF FIRE ON FLOOR OF TOMB BENEATH BURIAL LAYER	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, STONE VASES, LIBATION VESSELS, BRONZE TOOLS, TOILET IMPLEMENTS, JEWELRY (INC. GOLD), SEALS, AMULETS	MMIa, MMII, LMI1-III -----
KOUKASA	TOMBS: THOLOS A: 124  THOLOS B: 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 129, 131, 525 THOLOS T: 17	DISTURBED AND LOOTED MIXED BURIAL STRATUM - HUMAN BONES & EARTH & OTHER OBJECTS - BLACK BURNT EARTH ON FLOOR OF TOMBS BELOW BURIAL STRATA	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, LIBATION VESSELS, AMULETS, SEALSTONES, BRONZE DAGGERS, SCRAPERS, STONE VASES, JEWELRY (INC. GOLD)  AS ABOVE & KERNOI, LIDS, TOOLS, SCRA- PERS, WHEATSTONES, OBSIDIAN BLADES, ANTHROPOMORPHIC VASES. JUGS, CUPS, DISHES & OTHER CLAY VESSEL FRAGMENTS.	EMI-MM/a ----- EMII  EMII  EMII



LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
KOUASA (cont.)	AREA AB: 18, 19  BURIALS OUTSIDE TOMBS: 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27	MIXED BURIAL STRATA WITH BONES, EARTH & OTHER OBJECTS, EVIDENCE OF FIRE  MIXED DISTURBED STRATA	CLAY VESSELS & OTHER FRAGMENTS - (ZOOMORPHIC VESSELS)  CLAY VESSELS & OTHER FRAGMENTS	EMI/III  EMI-MM/a
LEBENA	TOMBS Ib, II, III THOLOS Ib LEB1 LEB2 THOLOS II LEB3 THOLOS III LEB4	DISBURBED, LOOTED BURIAL STRATA VERY MIXED - MANY BONES & OTHER OBJECTS TRACES OF FIRE IN THOLOS II ONLY	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, STONE VASES, SCRAPERS, JEWELRY, SEALSTONES, OB- SIDIAN BLADES. ABOVE & DAGGERS, AMULETS, GOLD JEWELRY, SHELLS, JUGS, CUPS, STONE VASES, SEALS	EMII/MMIa ----- EMII EMI/II EMII
LEBNA	TOMBS I, II THOLOS I: LEN1 THOLOS II: LEN2, LEN3	MIXED BURIAL DEPOSIT	-	EMII-MMIa
MOCHLOS	TOMB 4	DISTURBED & LOOTED MIXED BURIAL STRATUM	CLAY VESSELS, STEATITE, BOWL, SHELL ROSETTE, CORE OF CONCH SHELL, GOLD NECKLACE, STONE BEADS, STONE VASES, CHAICIDONY PIGEON PENDANT, GOLD CHAIN WITH LEAF PENDANT	EMIII-MMIII ----- MMIII

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
PLATANOS	TOMBS A, B THOLOS A 29, 222	DISTURBED, LOOTED BURIAL STRATUM OF TWO LAYERS - FINEST OBJECTS IN UPPER LAYER. EVIDENCE OF FIRE ON TOMB FLOOR & BLACKENED BONES AND EARTH	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, KERNOS, DOUBLE AXE, DAGGERS, TOOLS, SCRAPERS, GOLD JEWELRY, SEALS, AMULETS	EMI-MM1/II -----
				EMI
				EMII
				EMI/MM1/II
PORTI	AREA AB 31	MIXED BURIAL STRATUM WITH BONES & EARTH & OTHER OBJECTS PAVED AREA OF SLATE ON FOUNDATION OF STONES & CLAY ON WEST SIDE MIXED STRATUM & DISTURBED	ABOVE + LIBATION VESSELS, LAMP  SCATTERED FRAGMENTS OF POTTERY	MMI
				EMI-MM1/II -----
				EMIII/MM1-II
PYRGOS	TOMB THOLOS II 33,34,35	DISTURBED, LOOTED THICK BURIAL STRATUM- EARTH WITH BLACKENED BONES. EVIDENCE OF SEVERE FIRE ON FLOOR OF TOMB	CUPS, DISHES, SEALS, GOLD JEWELRY, PENDANTS, BEADS, COPPER DAGGERS, STONE PALETTES, LAMPS	EMI-MM1/II -----
				EMIII -----
PYRGOS	TOMB IN THOLOS BETWEEN BURIALS & LARNAKES	DISTURBED & LOOTED BURIAL STRATUM WITH EARTH & OTHER OBJECTS	JUGS, CUPS, BOWLS, LIBATION VESSELS	NEOLITHIC - EMIII -----
				EMI-III

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
SIVA	TOMB	MIXED BURIAL STRATUM WITH TRACES OF FIRE	JUGS, CUPS, DISHES, STONE VASES, DOUBLE AXES, TOILET IMPLEMENTS, WHESTONE, JEWELRY, SEALS, SHELLS	EMI-MM1a ----- EMI1
AGIOS ONOUPHRIOS	BURIAL DEPOSIT	MIXED BURIAL STRATUM WITH BONES & OTHER OBJECTS	JUGS, STONE VASES, DAGGERS, BRONZE TOOLS, JEWELRY (INC. GOLD), SEAL- STONES, AMULETS, LAMPS	EMI-MM1a ----- EMI1
TEKES	BURIAL DEPOSIT	DISTURBED. MIXED BURIAL STRATUM WITH BONES, EARTH & OTHER OBJECTS	CLAY VESSELS, DAGGERS, BLADES	EMI-EMI1 ----- EMI1-111
ARV1	PEAK SANCTUARY	(SURFACE FIND)	-	MM11?
JUKTAS	PEAK SANCTUARY No's 37 & 38 UN- PUBLISHED ALTAR STEP BETWEEN TERRACES I & II 39, J4-J10 BETWEEN TERRACES I & II ON LIPS OF CHASM 40-42, J11- J17, J19-J22	- REMOVAL OF EARTH ON STEP  REMOVAL OF EARTH	- CLAY VESSELS & FRAGMENTS, TABLES OF OFFERING + "MANY OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS"  AS ABOVE	MM1-LM111 ----- MM1/11  MM1/11b-111a  MM1/11 & LM1



LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
JUKTAS (cont.)	ROOM 3, EAST OF TERRACES I & II J1, J2, J3, J18	REMOVAL OF EARTH	CLAY VESSELS & FRAGMENTS, ANIMAL FIGURINES, SEALSTONES, LADLES, BIRD FIGURINES, MINIATURE DOUBLE AXES	MMI/II & LMI
KOPHINAS	PEAK SANCTUARY (a) CRACKS IN ROCKS ON NORTH & EAST SIDES OF PEAK (b) WITHIN RECTANGULAR ENCLOSED GROUND OF PRESERVED AREA	-  BLACK LAYER ON LOWEST LEVEL IN ENCLOSURE - FROM FIRE	-  -	MMI-MMII? ----- MMII/III? - LMI?  MMI
MAZA	PEAK SANCTUARY BETWEEN ROCKS, SMALL DISTANCE FROM GEOMETRIC DWELLINGS EXCAVATED ON NORTH SIDE OF PEAK	IN CRACKS & FISSURES OF ROCK IN SINGLE ASHLAYER <sup>7</sup> BELOW FILLING OF EARTH	FRAGMENTS OF HUMAN BONES, <sup>8</sup> POTTERY & ANIMAL FIGURINES	MMI-MMII ----- MMI/II
PETSOPHA	PEAK SANCTUARY WEST OF CROSSWALL, DF EXTENDING OVER SITE	THICK SINGLE ASH LAYER (NEARLY BLACK EARTH) BELOW SURFACE SOIL AND ABOVE THICK BED OF CLAYEY EARTH (ORIGINAL PACKING OF ENCLOSURE)	ANIMAL FIGURINES, PLATES, MINIATURE JUGS, CONICAL CUPS, VASES, CLAY BALLS, MINIATURE FURNITURE & TREE, HUMAN LIMBS	NEOLITHIC - MMII ----- (EMII) - MMI



LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
PISKOKEPHALO	PEAK SANCTUARY VARIOUS TRIAL TRENCES <sup>9</sup> ON SLOPE AROUND PEAK	SURFACE VERY DISTURBED ASH LAYERS (BLACKENED EARTH) AT VARIOUS LEVELS	MANY CLAY VESSEL FRAGMENTS, INSECT & ANIMAL FIGURINES, MINIATURE SANCTUARY MODELS	MMI-LMIII ----- MMI-II
PRINIAS	PEAK SANCTUARY UNPUBLISHED	-	-	MMI
TRAOSTALOS	PEAK SANCTUARY HOLLOW OF HILL BE- LOW PEAK <sup>10</sup> & IN CRACKS & FISSURES OF ROCKS	SOME EARTH FILL IN CRACKS OF ROCKS	ANIMAL FIGURINES, SMALL POTS, CLAY VESSELS, STONE VASES, SMALL ALTARS, INSECTS, GOLD ORNAMENTS, EXTREMITIES OF A HAND	MMI - ROMAN PERIOD ----- MMI/II
PSYCHRO	CAVE (a) CREVICES OF STALACTITES (b) POOL OF WATER AT BOTTOM OF CAVE	- - MAYBE WASHED DOWN FROM CREVICES	CLAY VESSELS, KNIVES, RINGS, PINS, BLADES, FIBULAE, MINIATURE DOUBLE AXES, ENGRAVES GEMS, LANCE HEADS, DARTS, TWEEZERS, BEADS, TABLES OF OFFERING	EM - ROMAN ----- LMI
SKOTEINO	CAVE AT BASE OF LONG CORRIDOR ON FLOOR LEVEL 2	VERY DISTURBED -0.20m BELOW SURFACE SOIL	CLAY VESSEL FRAGMENTS, BRONZE DAG- GERS, LANCE POINT, BONE NEEDLES	MM - ROMAN ----- LMI

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
TRAPEZA	CAVE WITHIN CAVE (Δ) AT VARYING DISTANCES & DEPTHS FROM EN- TRANCE	VERY DISTURBED, MIXED DEPOSITS WITH SCATTERED HUMAN BONES & SKULLS	CLAY VESSELS, OBSIDIAN BLADE, STONE VASES, BONE POINT, SEAL, DAGGER STONE VASES, PALETTE, HUMAN & ANIMAL BONES + EGYPTIAN ALABASTER BOWL POTTERY FRAGMENTS, STONE BOWL, SEALSTONE POTTERY, GOLD LEAF, OBSIDIAN BLADES STONE VASES, AXE, SEALSTONES, STONE BUTTON, BEADS, HUMAN BONES & SKULL GOLD LEAF, SILVER BALDE, STONE VASES, EGYPTIAN SCARAB, SKULLS, HUMAN & ANIMAL BONES POTTERY FRAGMENTS, STONE VASE FRAG- MENTS, HUMAN SKULLS & BONES, OBSIDIAN BLADES POTTERY FRAGMENTS, STONE VASE FRAG- MENTS, HUMAN SKULLS & BONES, OBSIDIAN BLADES POTTERY FRAGMENTS, STONE VASE FRAG- MENTS, HUMAN SKULLS & BONES, OBSIDIAN BLADES POTTERY FRAGMENTS, STONE VASE FRAG- MENTS, HUMAN SKULLS & BONES, OBSIDIAN BLADES POTTERY FRAGMENTS, STONE VASES, PENDANT, HUMAN SKULL & BONES	NEOLITHIC-MMII/III (LMI) -----
	Δ4: TR8 180	0.60m-0.80m BELOW SUR- FACE SOIL		EMI-III + MMI & II
	Δ5: 177	0.20-0.40m BELOW SUR- FACE SOIL		EMI-III + MMII
	Δ6: TR11	1.00-1.30m BELOW SUR- FACE SOIL		EMI-III
	Δ7-Δ11: TR1 TR6 TR10 TR12 175	0-0.30m BELOW SURFACE SOIL		EMII
	Δ16-Δ19: (CHAIR)	HOLE 0-0.50m IN FILL		MMI
	Δ17: 178	HOLE 0-0.30m IN FILL		EMII/III
	Δ18: 176, 179	HOLE 0-0.30m IN FILL		EMII/III
	Δ19: TR14	HOLE 0-0.30m IN FILL		EMII/III
	Δ20.22: TR7	0-0.30m BELOW SURFACE SOIL		EMII/III

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
AGIA TRIADHA	VILLA WEST WING: ONE OF TWO SOUTH ROOMS & EAST OF LIGHTWELL 9: 181-184 AT1 AT2 AT3 ADJACENT TO ROOM 17: 71879; 749; 2312; 2054; 750, 753, 75149, 752, 759	-	CLAY BIRDS AND POTTERY FRAGMENTS	MMIII/LMI  LMI
CHAMAIZI	HOUSE BANK OF EXTERIOR ROOM 2 ADJACENT TO ROOM 4 & 4A	0.50m BELOW SURFACE SOIL, ISOLATED FINDS IN EARTH	-	MMI-LM ----- MMI
KNOSSOS	(a) PALACE 199, 202, 203 UN- PUBLISHED HOUSE A, BENEATH THE KOULOURAS - WEST COURT OF PALACE: KN4 TEMPLE REPOSITORIES BENEATH ENTRANCE OF VAT ROOMS & ON BOR- DERS OF EAST PILLAR ROOM: KN1 KN2 KN3	- - DEEP MIXED STRATUM	- POTTERY FRAGMENTS, SUNKEN CIRCLE & BOWL IN FLOOR OF CHAMBER  EAST CIST: MARBLE CROSS, STONE HAMMERS, CRYSTAL PLAQUES, INSCRIBED TABLETS, SEAL- STONES, BONE & IVORY OBJECTS, GOLD FOIL, LIBATION TABLES. WEST CIST: BOWLS & EWERS, ROSE LEAF CHALICE, FAIENCE DRESS, SHELLS, CUPS, VASES	NEOLITHIC - LMI ----- MMI/II  MMIa  MMIII



LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
KNOSSOS (cont.)	(b) ROYAL ROAD: 189-191, 193, 195-197 (c) HOGARTH'S HOUSES <sup>12</sup> A & B-SOUTH EXTENSION OF GYPSADES HILL SW OF PALACE: 192, 194, 200 (d) HOUSE OF THE SACRIFICED OXEN - NW & SE CORNERS OF SOUTH BASEMENT: 188, 198 (e) GYPSADES: 201	MIXED STRATA  VERY DISTURBED & MIXED FILL    MIXED FILL OF ROOM	MAINLY POTTERY  CLAY CUPS & OTHER CLAY VESSELS & FRAGMENTS   CUPS, BOWLS, JUGS, PITHOI, BAKING DISHES, SUSPENSION POTS, FAIENCE FRAGMENTS, PAINTED STUCCO RELIEF FRAGMENTS & RELIEF OF YOUTH, EGG-STAND, OXEN SKULLS	MMIIa - MMIIb  MMIIa - LMI?
MALLIA	(a) PALACE MALI MAL2 HM22.170 HM22.134 <sup>13</sup> (b) LE QUARTIER Δ HOUSE Δα - AT REAR BEHIND HOUSE: 961 280 (c) LE QUARTIER E EASTERN EDGE OF MAISON E: ROOM II.2 204, 208, 205	-  -  -  SOUNDINGS OF AREA A4, LEVEL 8 - MIXED FILLING/PACKING OF ROAD 1	-  KERNOS, PALETTE  POTTERY FRAGMENTS	EM - LMIB ----- EMI/II- MMI/II MMIII MMIII/LMI  MMI - LMI/II MMIIa?  MMI/II?



LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
MALLIA (cont.)	ROOM XIII: 213 MAISON E, SURFACE EARTH: 271 MAISON E: 9160 (d) LE QUARTIER MU NW OF PALACE, ROOM 1.5: 206, 207, 209- 212, 214.	MIXED FILL OF ROOM  - SOUNDINGS OF 1931/2 MIXED STRATUM OF EARTH AND POTTERY	CLAY HEAD & VESSELS  - - ANIMAL FIGURINES, ANATOMICAL REPRESENTATIONS, LARGE AMOUNTS OF CLAY VESSELS & FRAGMENTS.	MMI/II?   MMI/II
MYRTOS	SETTLEMENT ROOM 89: 216 NW OF NORTHERN BENCH  AREA 31: 215  NORTH RUBBISH AREA 3 ON ROCK BE- LOW BUILDING I:221 SE PIT 62: 218, 219  SURFACE OVER ROOMS 37-40: MYR1, 220 SE PIT 61: 217	FILL OF ROOM - AT THE TOP OF THE DESTRUCTION LEVEL ASHY, BURNT GREY OR BLACK EARTH MIXED & DISTURBED STRATUM MIXED STRATUM  PURE STRATA OF EARTH & POTTERY FRAGMENTS SURFACE SOIL PURE STRATA OF EARTH & POTTERY FRAGMENTS	MANY CLAY VESSELS, + FRAGMENTS, HUMAN SKULL, LAMP, FRAGMENTS OF BAKING PLATE  POTTERY FRAGMENTS, BOWLS, COBLETS POTTERY FRAGMENTS  POTTERY FRAGMENTS  POTTERY FRAGMENTS, CLAY VESSELS, & STONE AXE POTTERY FRAGMENTS	EMIIA/B ----- PERIOD II (EMIIB)  PERIOD I (EMIIA) PERIOD II (EMIIB)?  PERIOD I (EMIIA) PERIOD I (EMII)? PERIOD I (EMIIA)

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
PHAISTOS	PALACE SE BUILDING. WELL NE OF ROOM LXXIII: 225, PH1 BUILDING X, SOUTH OF CORRIDOR 7: 222 FINDS 223, 224, 226 UNPUBLISHED	MIXED STRATUM  - -	CLAY VESSELS & POTTERY FRAGMENTS  CLAY VESSELS & POTTERY FRAGMENTS  -	NEOLITHIC + EM/MMIa-LMIb ----- MMIIB/IIa
PALAIKASTRO	SETTLEMENT BLOCK X BELOW ROOMS 39 & 32: PK1 WEST OF TOWN, TRIAL PIT: PK2 BLOCK X ROOM 41: PK3	EARLIER STRATIFIED DEPOSIT MIXED STRATUM  VERY MIXED & DISTURBED STRATUM INTERCUT BY VARIOUS WALLS	MANY POTTERY FRAGMENTS POTTERY FRAGMENTS  POTTERY FRAGMENTS	NEOLITHIC + EMII-LMIb ----- EMII ? LMI POTTERY BUT PROBABLY EARLIER MMII-LMII?
VASILIKI	SETTLEMENT METAH . OIKIA INSIDE WALL I OPPO- SITE NE CORNER OF ROOM 41: VAS1 METAH . AYAH PAVED AREA BESIDE ROOM 31: VAS2 HOUSE Φ: FOUNDATION OF NORTH WALL: VAS3	EARTH FILL & STONES   DESTRUCTION LEVEL WITH EARTH & DISORDERED ROCKS HARD EARTH ON BEDROCK	-  SHELLS & STONES ANIMAL FIGURINE FRAGMENTS	EMI A - ROMAN ----- EMIIB  EMIIB MMIA

LOCATION	FIND SPOT	CONTEXT	ASSOCIATED FINDS	CHRONOLOGY (Sites and Figurines)
ZAKROS	PALACE AREA WASTE DUMP IN RECTANGULAR HOLLOW OF ROCK NR. VALLEY OF THE DEAD - OPPOSITE BURIAL CAVE <sup>14</sup> : 231 NE ANNEXE OF PALACE <sup>15</sup> : 228-230, 232-237 (UNPUBLISHED) ROOM P (R) : ZAK1	(CHANCE FIND)	-	MMIa - LMib -----
		-	-	EMIII/MMIa
		-	-	LM1?
		-	-	MMIII/LM1?
ZOU	HOUSE BANK IN CORNER OF ROOM Z	REMOVAL OF EARTH	POTTERY & FRAGMENTS	MMIIb - LM1
FORTE TSA	CHANCE FIND BELOW MODERN VILLAGE - ACQUISITION 1933	-	-	
SITEIA	CHANCE FIND	-	-	
SAMBA	CHANCE FIND	-	-	

The gaps evident in Table II - both in the nature of the deposits and/or the associated finds - provide a good argument to support the case that one cannot rely wholly on context for the meaning of the figurines. This is a negative approach to the evidence provided, however, and its associated problems. By comparing the evidence for similar types within a range of known deposits for instance, one can at least attempt to build up a hypothesis about a figurine or group of figurines where details of context are lacking.

In Table 11, four different types of contexts have been identified and listed alphabetically within each section: thus we have tombs, peak sanctuaries, caves and settlements.

TOMBS: Tombs have suffered from looting and disturbance more than any other type of site, throughout antiquity to the present day. In addition, the tholoi were communal burials, judging from the great quantity of bones found heaped in them, and subject to the clearance of burials to create more space at the time of their maximum usage. This has added to the present confused nature of the deposits. Of the fourteen tombs and two burial deposits (see Table 11) found, ninety-two figurines have been brought to light (and three models). Of this number sixty-one were found actually in the tomb itself - usually in mixed burial strata of human bones, earth and other grave goods. Agia Triadha, Archanes and Koumasa produced the largest number of figurines, but they in turn constituted the largest tomb complexes. By comparison to the number of burials and the quantity of clay vessels, the figurines were, in all cases, a very small proportion of the grave goods and often brushed aside with the bones when



forming new space for other burials. Seven of the eighty-eight figurines were found outside the tholoi. At Archanes they were found at random points away from the tombs and burial buildings whereas at Koumasa and Platanos they were found on paved areas between the tholoi together with zoomorphic and other clay vessels. Of the remaining figurines, four were found in burial buildings, associated with the clearance and deposition of burials and related rituals of the tholoi.<sup>18</sup> Of these only No. AR11 from Burial Building 7 at Archanes was found with any bones - namely the bottom half of a human skull.

The associated finds in tombs, although varied in themselves, proved to be very similar from one tomb to another, consisting mainly of personal possessions, domestic vessels, some metal objects and objects associated with ritualistic use (e.g. libation vessels, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels, double axes). Seven of the tombs contained fragments of jewelry and nearly all of them daggers and/or bronze tools. Only Platanos and Siva produced double axes. Great quantities of pottery were found in all the tombs (of particular interest being the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels, notably from Koumasa) - especially jugs, cups and dishes. Of the personal possessions sealstones and amulets are particularly numerous. One may surmise that the majority of finds from tombs may equally well be found in settlements of the same period - for which we have little evidence. The main additions, however, are those vessels and objects which are thought to be connected with ritual activity. Related to this, perhaps, is the fact that seven of the tombs revealed clear evidence of burning on the tomb floors, three had paved areas and eight had

TABLE 11: CONTEXTS AND TOMBS

LOCATION	INSIDE	OUTSIDE	BURIAL BUILDINGS	BURIALS	TOTAL
AGIA TRIADHA	13				13
AGIOS KYRILLOS			1		1
ARCHANES	6	4	6		16
GOURNES	1				1
KALATHIANA	1				1
KAMILARI	7				7 <sup>17</sup>
KOUMASA	10	2		6	18
LEBENA	4				4
LEND A	3				3
MOCHLOS	1				1
PLATANOS	3	1	1		5
PORTI	3				3
PYRGOS	8				8
SIVA	1				1
AGIOS ONOUPHRIOS				4	4
TEKES				6	6
TOTALS	61	7	8	16	92

adjoining or outer rooms to the tholoi.

PEAK SANCTUARIES: From the peak sanctuaries the most immediate observation is the vast number of figurines that have been brought to light and how this contrasts with the numbers found from tombs (above). Unfortunately the great majority of these figurines are unpublished and thus we have no evidence of their particular contexts and deposits. However, there is a sufficient amount of information in published sources from a few of the major peak sanctuary deposits, and the general character of others to enable one to surmise the nature of those sites for which we have little or no information.

At Petsopha, the biggest deposit of figurines was found within a single ash layer of nearly black earth below the surface soil. This rested above the original clay packing of an enclosure which represented the boundaries of a sanctuary. At Piskokephalo, where various trial trenches were dug, similar ash layers were found at varying levels on the slope below the peak, and at Maza figurines were found within a single ash layer (below an earth fill) but in the cracks and fissures of rocks. At Kophinas we know that a black layer was found on the lowest level in the enclosure ('temenos')<sup>19</sup> but whether figurines were found within this layer is not known. There appear to be two main areas of deposition on peak sanctuaries therefore, (a) between the cracks and fissures of rocks around the peaks and (b) in the enclosed area of the sanctuary walls, and in some cases in front of the altar.<sup>20</sup> Of the eight peak sanctuaries recorded here, half showed evidence of burning and of these, three contained figurines within their ash layers. Three sites, Kophinas, Maza and Traostallos revealed

figurines between the cracks and fissures of the rocks and at Juktas many figurines were found in the removal of the earth from the altar step and on the lip of a deep chasm beside the altar. On the surface of the rock here was a layer of grey ash. All the sites for which we have information contained clay vessels and many fragments of pottery, and of particular interest animal figurines (including those of insects). At Petsopha the figurines were found with numerous human limbs and dissected torsos. More unusually, miniature furniture and a small model of a tree were found. At Piskokephalo there were miniature models of sanctuaries found with the figurines and at Traostalos small altars together with stone vases and clay vessels. Only at one peak sanctuary, Maza, were fragments of human bone found and they were within the ash layer with pottery fragments. Conspicuous by their absence from peak sanctuaries are metal objects - particularly tools and daggers and/or blades. Eighteen miniature bronze double axes were found at Juktas, however, and fifteen of the figurines are themselves bronze (seven from Juktas, four from Kophinas and four from Traostalos). Unlike the figurines from tombs, those from peak sanctuaries constitute a sizeable proportion of the finds. It is only unfortunate that we do not have the total number of figurines from these sites nor more precise details of their contexts and deposits. One might assume however that the numbers found at Kophinas and Traostalos, as recorded here, constitute the most representative figures.

CAVES: Caves present us with two main problems: firstly, they are very disturbed and objects are often shifted or washed further into the cave and, secondly, deposits are rarely stratified. This makes dating very difficult and contextual evidence scanty.



At Psychro the figurines were found in the crevices of the stalactites and in the pool of water (or lake) at the bottom of the cave.<sup>21</sup> At Skoteino the figurines were found on the second of four floor levels at the end of a long corridor and at Trapeza they were located at varying distances from the entrance and at varying depths from the surface (see Table 11). Five of the figurines from Trapeza were found in holes in the cave and of the total none were found beyond the distance of 22m. from the entrance. Metal objects were very prominent amongst the associated finds of all the caves, particularly tools (and weapons?) - for instance, lance-heads, darts, daggers, blades, double axes, knives. Of the three caves Trapeza was the only one whose deposits contained human and animal bones, skulls and fragments of gold leaf.<sup>22</sup> At Psychro the range of finds from the lower grotto (where the figurines were found) was far greater than that of the upper chamber. The upper chamber, however, contained successive layers of ash and carbonized matter mixed with and divided by strata of sherds and animal bones and an altar and temenos area. In addition the upper chamber contained only animal figurines, but no anthropomorphic ones, whilst both contained tables of offering. There appears to have been a very clear division of activities here, therefore, and related objects. A great number of figurines, and all of them bronze, has been found in caves, but of the period ending with the destruction of the palaces in LMIB, there is a limited number. Many more are attributed to LMII and beyond, though it must be conceded that their dating has proved very difficult and far from certain.

SETTLEMENTS: Figurines from settlement areas are not very numerous when compared to known numbers from peak sanctuaries and in relation

to the size and complexity of some of the sites to which they belong (in particular, the palaces). In addition they are usually scattered about the sites in a random way. At Mallia, for instance, only four figurines come from within the palace (and from unknown contexts) - the remaining sixteen come from the different house complexes outside the palace. Similarly, at Knossos, six of the figurines are from within the palace (three of these from the Temple Repositories) and a further fourteen from the various houses included in the town extension and Royal Road. At Myrtos, three figurines are from pits, one from a rubbish dump, and three from the surface earth over rooms; only one figurine was found in the fill of a room (see Table 11). Conversely, at Chamaizi the figurines were found in the same area but a short distance from each other in the bank of an exterior room. This room was situated adjacent (though not connecting) to another room thought to be the area designated as a sanctuary in the house.<sup>23</sup>

At Agia Triadha the clay figurines were located in one of two south rooms in the west wing, together with clay vessels and other pottery fragments, whereas the bronze figurines were found adjacent to room 17 of the villa. Two of the known figurines from Phaistos were brought to light in a well north-east of room LXXIII in the palace with the remainder located in Building X, south of corridor 7.

At the settlement of Vasiliki one figurine was found inside the wall of the Μεγαλή Οικία (Big House), the second on the large paved area, Μεγαλή Ἀγλή (Big Yard) and the third in the foundations of House Φ. The date and position of the second figurine draws an immediate parallel with those figurines found on paved areas around tombs.

Three of the deposits produced associated finds of great interest: the Temple Repositories, the House of the Sacrificed Oxen (both at Knossos) and Quartier Mu at Mallia. The contents of the Temple Repositories appear to reflect ritual activities and/or the furnishings of a wealthy shrine. In the east cist, for instance, were found a marble cross and libation tables and in the west cist bowls and ewers, chalices, and many faience objects including shells, fish and robes. In the House of the Sacrificed Oxen, apart from two oxen skulls, fragments of painted stucco relief and the relief of a youth were found, in addition to faience fragments and pottery. At Quartier Mu, Mallia, in Room I.5, a small storeroom, the figurines were found grouped together with animal figurines, anatomical representations and a great quantity of clay vessels and fragments. From this room leads a short passage and door into a large room containing a lustral basin (I.3 & I.4). Connected to this and to the east is a sanctuary with a table of offering at its centre (I.12) and to the west what could be a reception or banqueting hall. In at least two of these cases, therefore, the contexts, deposits and associated finds related to the figurines, reflected some kind of ritual activity.

Apart from these deposits pottery constituted the main part of the assemblages of the figurines whose contexts are known from settlements. These figurines form, perhaps, the most ambiguous group; many are scattered about their sites and belong to mixed strata in varied contexts as we have seen (Table 11). Their associated finds are not always instructive in their interpretation - instead it is hoped that by comparing them to figurines of similar type in different contexts (if, indeed, such exist) that a clearer picture will emerge of their use and significance.



TABLE 12: CONTEXTS IN SETTLEMENTS

LOCATION	PALACE	VILLA	HOUSE(S)	TOWN	TOTAL
AGIA TRIADHA		16			16
CHAMAIZI			3		3
*KNOSSOS	6		6	8	20
*MALLIA	4		15		19
MYRTOS				8	8
PHAISTOS	6				6
PALAIKASTRO				3	3
VASILIKI			1	2	3
ZAKROS	11				11
ZOU			1		1
TOTALS	27	16	26	21	90

\*NB

KNOSSOS:

HOUSE OF SACRIFICED OXEN2

HOGARTH'S HOUSES3

HOUSE A, BENEATH KOULOURAS1

}HOUSES

ROYAL ROAD7

GYPSADES1

}TOWN

MALLIA:

QUARTIER Δα2

QUARTIER E6

QUARTIER Mu7

}HOUSES



TABLE 13: CHRONOLOGY

LOCATION	PRE-PALATIAL			PROTO-PALATIAL		NEO-PALATIAL	
	EMI	EMII	EMIII	MMI	MMII	MMIII	LMI
			A/B		B	A/B	B
AGIA TRIADHA		13					
AGIOS KYRILLOS				1			
ARCHANES		↔7↔	6 ↔2↔			↔1↔	
GOURNES		1					
KALATHIANA		1					
KAMILARI					↔6↔		
KOUMASA		10 ↔2↔	↔6↔				
LEBENA		3					
LEND A		↔3↔					
MOCHLOS						1	
PLATANOS		3 ↔	1 1	↔			
PORTI			2	1			
PRYGOS	↔8↔						
SIVA		1					
AGIOS ONOUPHRIOS		4					
TEKES		↔6↔					
ARVI					?1		
JUKTAS				↔30↔			
KOPHINAS				↔119↔		↔4↔	
MAZA				↔19↔			
PETSOPHA				↔21↔			
PISKOKEPHALO				↔80↔			
PRINIAS				5			
TRAOSTALOS				↔320↔		↔4↔	
PSYCHRO							12
SKOTEINO							3
TRAPEZA	↔12↔			2			

LOCATION	EMI	EMII	EMIII	MMI	MMII	MMIII	LMI
			A/B		B	A/B	B
AGIA TRIADHA						↔16↔	
CHAMAIZI				3			
KNOSSOS				4	↔13↔	3	
MALLIA	←		4?		↔15?↔	↔2↔	
MYRTOS		8					
PHAISTOS					↔6↔		
PALAIKASTRO		1				↔1↔	1?
VASILIKI		2		1			
ZAKROS			1				10?
ZOU						↔1↔	

TOTALS EMI-LMib:

TOMBS	PEAK SANCTUARIES	CAVES	SETTLEMENTS
92	599	29	90

## NOTES:

1. This particularly applies to peak sanctuaries.
2. Note, for instance, the lack of information from tombs.  
 Whilst it is true that Xanthoudides' early excavations of the tombs of the Mesara have provided us with a wealth of information, he recorded, at times, only those objects that he regarded as important or essential. Cf. Section 1, Chapter 1 of this thesis 'Previous Studies and Research'.
3. In particular, reference is being made to the article in the Proceedings of the 1st International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens 1980 'Conclusions & Prospects: Criteria for Defining Sanctuaries and Sacred Objects' p.215-216 by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos.
4. E. French and R. Koehl, ibid. p.216.
5. J. Van Leuven, ibid. p.216.
6. The overall chronological span of the site has been given followed by the dates of the figurines themselves, where possible. See also Table 14.
7. Although the figurines were found in this single ash layer traces of fire are not clear on the figurines themselves. Platon suggested that this may have been indicative of the fact they were not thrown onto the fire on initial lighting of it but at a later stage. Cf. Kr.Chr. 5, 1951, p.102.
8. Pottery and metal objects were conspicuous by their absence from this site. In addition, no remains of a sanctuary building were found.
9. No systematic excavation seems to have taken place at Piskokephalo but instead a number of trial trenches have been

- dug in the vicinity of the peak. In addition much of the surface has been disturbed by clandestine activities.
10. A study excavation was carried out by C. Davaras in this area which revealed two funeral piles and a small building with two rooms. The latter appears to have been used up to the Roman period, but was first set up in the Proto-palatial period (cf. Kr.Chr. 17, 1963 (1965), p.405-6). A Neo-palatial building was also found near to the above.
  11. East and West cists appear to overlap in the nature of their contexts. The upper half of the so-called snake-goddess was found in the western cist whilst the bottom half of this figure and the two other female figures were found in the eastern cist.
  12. The three figurines from these houses, now in the Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos, do not appear to have ever been published. It is not sure, therefore, whether they were found in House A or B or both. It is important to mention however that in House B there were pillar crypts: the pillar was flanked by a group of nearly 200 clay cups set bottom upwards in regular rows and covering a small heap of carbonized vegetable matter.
  13. These figurines belong to the unpublished material from the first excavations at Mallia - later published by Chapouthier, Charbonneaux and Van Effenterre. Cf. Mallia I 1922-1924 (1928), p.56-7, pl.xxxi & Mallia Maison I, et.Cret. IX, pl.vci - but with no evidence of their contexts or associated objects.
  14. This waste dump is thought to have belonged to a sanctuary on a nearby hill. The figurine was actually found a few metres higher than the dump in a narrow flat area.



15. This is more commonly known as the "Ισχυροῦ κτήριου.
16. Within this category are also included the cemetery of Fourni, Archanes and the two burial deposits.
17. This number includes three models and three heads.
18. Branigan, K.: The Tombs of the Mesara, 1970, ch.5, p.95ff.; Ch.6, p.113-114.
19. Platon, N., Deltion 18 1963 & Deltion 19 1964, vol.B1 31, pl.514, p.437.
20. This was the case at Juktas, cf. Section III, ch.1, p.62 for references.
21. The figurines from the lake may have been washed down from the crevices.
22. It is very possible that gold existed in all the caves at one time, but has disappeared during antiquity and/or later times as a result of continuous looting.
23. In this room (4 & 4a) an altar or table of offering were found and the ash of a hearth. Cf. Xanthoudides, AE, 1906, p.135-142.

## CHAPTER 7. MATERIALS

What a figurine is made of may have value not only in interpretation, but as an art object in itself each examples produced in a different material reveals the variety of skills and abilities of the Minoans, as we know them. Here, we are interested in examining the range of materials used, the number of figurines produced in each type and how this relates to where they were found. How the related skills were manifested in the figurines will be better understood when they are examined in the next section. For the present Tables 14 and 15 summarize the information required.

LOCATION	MARBLE	LIME STONE	ALABASTER	IVORY	BONE	CRYSTAL	SHELL	STEATITE	FAIENCE	STONE	CLAY	BRONZE	LEAD	OTHER	TOTAL
AGIA TRIADHA	2		6	5							1				13
AGIOS KYRILLOS											2	1			1
ARCHANES	8			2		3					1				16
GOURNES											1				1
KAMILARI											7				7
KOUMASA	4	4		2				2			6				18
KALATHIANA				1						3					1
LEBENA	4														4
LEND A															3
MOCHLOS										1	1				1
PLATANOS		2	1	1						1					5
PORTI		2						1							3
PYRGOS	1									7					8
SIVA				1?											1
AGIOS ONOUPHRIOS	4														4
TEKES	5							1?							6
ARVI											1+				1+
JUKTAS											23+	6	1		30+
KOPHINAS											119+	4			123+
MAZA											19+				19+
PETSOPHA											21+				21+

LOCATION	MARBLE	LIME STONE	ALABASTER	IVORY	BONE	CRYSTAL	SHELL	STEATITE	FAIENCENCE	STONE	CLAY	BRONZE	LEAD	OTHER	TOTAL
PISKOKEPHALO											80+				80+
PRINIAS											5+				5+
TRAOSTALOS											316	4			320
PSYCHRO												12			12
SKOTEINO												3			3
TRAPEZA	1	1			6	3	2				1				14
AGIA TRIADHA											6	10			16
CHAMAIZI											3				3
KNOSSOS									3		14				17
MALLIA	3	6								2	8				19
MYRTOS		1						1			7				9
PHAISTOS											6				6
PALAIKASTRO											2	1			3
SITEIA	1										2				1
VASILIKI	1										9				3
ZAKROS	2										1				11
ZOU															1
TOTALS	36	16	7	12	6	6	2	5	3	13	661	41	2		810



**TABLE 15: MATERIALS**

MATERIALS	TOMBS	PEAK-SANCS.	CAVES*	SETTLEMENTS
CLAY	20%	97.5%	-	63%
BRONZE	-	2.5%	54%	13%
STONE	60%	-	7%	19%
OTHER	20%	-	39%	15%

These are approximate percentages of the figurines known to the author from a total of thirty-eight sites. The latter include sixteen tombs and/or burials, eight peak sanctuaries, three caves and eleven settlements and cover the period beginning in EMI and ending in LMIB only.

\* Of the three caves, two contained bronze figurines (Skoteino and Psychro) and one (Trapeza) had none at all.

Of the thirty-eight sites from which figurines are known<sup>1</sup> to have been found and are here presented, thirteen different materials were revealed for a total of eight hundred and ten figurines. Clearly the greatest variety of fabrics is to be found in tombs and settlements although they constitute a far smaller number in total than the number from peak sanctuaries. (Ninety are from settlements, ninety-two from tombs, twenty-nine from caves and five hundred and ninety-nine from peak sanctuaries.) The latter produced figurines almost entirely of clay (97.5%) with bronze figurines coming from only three of the eight sites (Juktas, Kophinas and Traostalos) and in each case only a very small proportion compared to those made of clay. Conversely, caves revealed a predominance of bronze: of the three caves, two produced a 100% majority of bronze figurines whereas at Trapeza there were none - here the predominant fabric was bone. It is important to note however that the figurines from Trapeza, with two exceptions, all came from the Pre-palatial period - the former exceptions being dated to MMI, the beginning of the Proto-palatial period. Psychro and Skoteino, however, whose figurines were entirely bronze, have been dated to the Neo-palatial period. This is significant in that those sites contemporary with the finds from Trapeza are the tombs, the latter of which produced a much greater variety of materials and more akin to those from Trapeza. Bronze was a fabric almost entirely associated with the Neo-palatial period, although there are a few from the preceeding period and one from Archanes thought to be dated to the end of the Pre-palatial period or beginning of the Proto-palatial period.<sup>2</sup>

Clay is undoubtedly the most popular medium for making figurines - and the simplest - evident in the fact that 81.5% of the total number of figurines from all the sites are made of clay. In addition, at the sites where figurines constituted a sizeable proportion of the associated assemblages and the biggest numbers in comparison to other sites, clay was the predominant material - and here I refer to the peak sanctuaries. The majority are dated, furthermore, to the Proto-palatial period (MMI/II). In the Pre-palatial tombs, stone (which includes marble, limestone, and alabaster in Table 14) constitutes 60% of the materials for figurines, most being made of local white island marble. Settlements produced a mixture of materials, though clay constituted 63% of the total from these sites the more unusual materials like faience being restricted to the palace of Knossos.

A closer examination of the clay fabric of those figurines actually handled (see Table 16) reveals a lack of uniformity within and between sites. Local clay in Crete appears to have been predominantly coarse and gritty, some examples, as at Piskokephalo, having multi-coloured flecks. Settlement sites produced fewer figurines made of a coarse fabric and at Knossos there were none, most being of a softer nature. With regard to fabric colour the most predominant throughout is pale orange-buff, at times showing varying degrees of brightness or dullness (surface slip may be lustrous or non-lustrous).

The peak sanctuary sites revealed most variation in fabric colour, with additional pinkish-buff and grey, reddish brown (at Maza and Petsopha), pure buff, and at Piskokephalo a concentration of pale buff with a yellowish or orange tinge. Settle-

ment sites produced figurines of a characteristic pale orange, soft buff fabric, though at Phaistos the colour was predominantly pinkish-buff. Agia Triadha revealed most variation, with orange, pinkish and cream-buff fabrics. Traces of paint, particularly red and reddish-brown are noticable on figurines from most sites and where they are absent one might imagine that they were once present. Evidently figurines were brightly coloured, a reddish-brown being characteristic for the flesh of male figurines and white for that of females. Additional ornamentation was added in a variety of other colours.

A more detailed analysis of figurine fabric is only possible alongside an analysis of the fabrics of associated pottery, which is a subject in itself. This brief survey, however does at least indicate the predominant fabric type, and where variations occur. The variety of fabric colour associated with the peak sanctuary sites may help to reaffirm the view that such sanctuaries served the needs of a number of different communities, and perhaps different workshops. Where this can be associated with particular types, the point is made even clearer, as we shall see.



TABLE 16: FABRIC AND SITE SURVEY OF CLAY FIGURINES HANDLED

LOCATION	COARSE & GRITTY	SOFT	FINE	HARD	FABRIC COLOUR	SLIP AND PAINT
KOUMASA	✓ SOME WHITE & BROWN FLECKS	✓			PREDOMINANTLY ORANGE-BUFF. BUFF.	
KAMILARI	✓				REDDISH-BUFF	YELLOWISH-BUFF SLIP. SOME TRACES OF RED PAINT
MOCHLOS		✓ (FAIRLY)			ORANGE-BUFF	SELF SLIP
ARVI	✓ (FAIRLY)				ORANGE-BUFF	
JUKTAS	✓	✓			PINKISH-GREY, PINKISH-BUFF, YELLOWISH-BUFF, ORANGE-BUFF	SOME TRACES OF RED PAINT
KOPHINAS	✓		✓(1)		PREDOMINANTLY PALE/DULL ORANGE-BUFF. DARK ORANGE, BRIGHT ORANGE	SOME TRACES OF DARK AND BLACK PAINT
MAZA	✓ (PREDOMINANTLY)	✓(1)			PINKISH-BUFF, ORANGE-BUFF, REDDISH-BROWN	
PETSOPHA	✓ (FAIRLY)	✓ (PRE-DOMINANTLY)			BUFF, ORANGE-BUFF, PINKISH-BUFF, REDDISH-BROWN	MANY TRACES OF RED, REDDISH-BROWN, WHITE & BLACK PAINT.

LOCATION	COARSE & GRITTY	SOFT	FINE	HARD	FABRIC COLOUR	SLIP AND PAINT
PISKOKEPHALO	✓ SOME MULTI COLOURED FLECKS				PREDOMINANTLY PALE BUFF WITH YELLOWISH OR ORANGE TINGE. ORANGE-BUFF, PALE BUFF	MANY TRACES OF ORANGE AND REDDISH-BROWN PAINT
PRINIAS	✓ (PREDOMINANTLY)				ORANGE-BUFF	
TRAOSTALOS	✓ (SOME)			✓ (SOME)	PALE BUFF, PALE ORANGE-BUFF	SOME TRACES OF BROWN, REDDISH- BROWN AND BLACK PAINT
AGIA TRIADHA	✓ (PREDOMINANTLY)			✓ (SOME)	ORANGE-BUFF, PINKISH-BUFF, CREAM-BUFF.	YELLOWISH-BUFF SLIP. SOME TRACES OF REDDISH-BROWN, BROWN BLACK AND WHITE PAINT
CHAMAIZI	✓ (FAIRLY)				PALE ORANGE-BUFF	SOME TRACES OF REDDISH-BROWN PAINT
KNOSSOS		✓ (SOME FAIRLY)	✓ (1)	✓ (1)	PREDOMINANTLY PALE ORANGE- BUFF	
MYRTOS	✓ (1)			✓ (1)	BUFF, ORANGE-BUFF, ORANGE- BROWN	SOME TRACES OF RED SLIP
PHAISTOS	✓ (SOME)	✓ (1)			PREDOMINANTLY PALE PINKISH- BUFF	TRACES OF GREY, BLUE, RED AND WHITE PAINT

LOCATION	COARSE & GRITTY	SOFT	FINE	HARD	FABRIC COLOUR	SLIP AND PAINT
ZAKROS	✓ (SOME)	✓ (SOME)			PREDOMINANTLY PALE ORANGE-BUFF	SOME TRACES OF WHITE AND DARK PAINT

## NOTES.

1. By the author.
2. Colette Verlinden in "Les Statuettes anthropomorphes Cretaises en bronze et en plomb du 111<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VI<sup>e</sup> siecle av. J-C" would rather see many more of the bronze figurines from peak sanctuaries attributed to the Proto-palatial period. I see little conclusive evidence to support this, and have included them within the Neo-palatial period. The bronze figurine from Archanes is better seen to be of MMI date.



## PART III

CHAPTER 8. THE PRE-PALATIAL PERIOD

For the typological procedure and definition of the terms used in this section, see Part I, Chapter 3 'Methodology and Definitions' and Table 5.

KEY TO TYPE HEADINGSa. SCHEMATIC TYPES for the Pre-, Proto- and Neo-palatial periods.

Each Schematic type is allocated a single letter of the alphabet in sequence (i.e. A, B, C, etc.). Varieties of particular types are indicated by a Roman numeral following the letter (i.e. J.I, J.II, etc.). In order to distinguish the broad chronological sequence of Schematic types a number is attached to each letter representing a type. Hence, figurine types of the Proto-palatial period are distinguished from Pre-palatial types by the number 2 (i.e. A2, B2, C2, as opposed to A, B, C) and by the number 3 for the Neo-palatial period (i.e. A3, B3, C3).

Types run from A-Z in sequence, although the letter M and O are omitted. The letter M is omitted because of its similarity to the abbreviation used for the Minoan chronological periods.

b. NATURALISTIC TYPES for the Pre-, Proto- and Neo-palatial periods.

Each Naturalistic type is allocated the same two letters of the alphabet in sequence (i.e. AA, BB, CC, etc.). This helps distinguish from Schematic types. Varieties of particular types are again indicated by a Roman numeral following the letters. In addition a number is attached to lettered types, in sequence: hence AA2, BB2, CC2, of the Proto-palatial period may be distinguished from Naturalistic types of the Pre-palatial period labelled AA, BB, CC, etc.

When all the letters of the alphabet (with the exception of letters M and O) have been allocated to figurine types the sequence may begin again, followed by the next number in sequence (i.e. AA2 ... ZZ2 is followed by AA3 etc.). If the number of types within a single period exceeds the number of letters in the alphabet, the sequence must still begin at AA again, and followed by the next number in sequence. Hence AA2 and AA3 may both belong to the same period (e.g. Proto-palatial period).

Finally it should be pointed out that the lettered type ZZ, ZZ2, ZZ3, etc. has been allocated to heads only, as so many isolated examples were found. Again, varieties are followed by a Roman numeral. In addition YY has been reserved for skirts found unattached to torsos.

# 1. Schematic Figurines

TYPE A (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 29, 125, 126, 222, *PYR1*, *LEB1*)

No. 1 (Pl. 1, Fig. 1)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No.121<sup>1</sup>

Unknown Sex.

Posture: Type 5(b): 'Immobile or at rest' - legs not discernible

Gesture: Type 1(c): arms indicated by incision only (deep slant-  
ing groove in front here and curved at back)

Head: irregular rhomboid with sharply pointed chin and rounded  
crown. Low neck merged into body. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: Elongated body slightly narrowing at base  
with rounded-off end. Shoulders rounded and  
slightly slanting. Flat sides and back with  
convex front.

Dress: -

Marble; Whole. 5.8cm. ht.

No. 2 (Pl. 2)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No.118

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above (featured half way down body)

Head: triangular with sharply pointed chin and flattened crown.

Low neck merged into body. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: elongated triangular body narrowing to  
point at end. Slanting rounded shoulders.

Flat sides and back with slightly convex  
front.

Dress: -

Alabaster; 4.2cm. ht.

No. 3 (Pl. 3)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 116

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: -

Head: rhomboidal with sharply pointed chin and crown. Slightly  
concave profile for eyes and rounded, slanting shoulders.

Flat back and sides with convex front.

Dress: -

Marble; 6.6cm. ht.; whole.

No. 4 (Pl. 4)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 120

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above. Deep groove slanting at front and  
back. Half way down body.

Head: - (missing)

Torso: - (missing)

Lower Half: elongated triangular lower half narrowing to rounded-  
off point. Flat sides and back with slightly convex  
front.

Dress: -

Alabaster; 3.9cm. ext. ht.



No. 14 (Pl. 5)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 130

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above. Two incisions at either side  
in front and joining at back above waist.

Head: oval but narrowing to rounded-off point at chin. Low neck  
merged into body. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: elongated but rounded body narrowing to  
rounded-off base. Small, slanting and  
rounded shoulders. Flattish back with convex  
sides and front.

Dress: -

Marble; 6.0cm. ht.; whole.

No. 29 (Pl. 6)

From Platanos. Herakleion Museum No. 223

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above. Deep groove round middle at front only  
with two minor incisions at back denoting  
shoulder blades.

Head: long oval with rounded chin and crown. Incision at back of  
head. Low neck merging into body. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: elongated body with concave curvature on both  
sides - narrowing to rounded-off end. Rounded

shoulders.

Dress: -

Alabaster; 5.5cm. ht.; whole.

Added to these six figurines belonging to the Schematic Type A group are the following, which were not studied personally but have been published.

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 117<sup>2</sup> (Fig.11a)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above. Wide, shallow groove with deep indentations at sides leaving protruding stumps.

Head: long rhomboid with pointed chin and crown more rounded. Low neck merging into body. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: elongated oval body narrowing to point at base. Rounded, wide, slanting shoulders indenting to waist.

Dress: -

Alabaster; 6.0cm. ht.; whole.

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum - (no.inv.number)<sup>3</sup> (Fig.11b)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above. Wide groove round middle of body.

Head: wide and triangular, narrowing to rounded-off point at chin, and convex crown. Low neck merging into body. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: elongated body with slight concave curvature at sides and narrowing to rounded-off point at base.

Dress: -

Alabaster; 4.3cm. ht.; whole.

From Platanos. Herakleion Museum No. 222 (Fig.11d)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: Type 1(c): as above. Incision round waist.

Head: rounded rhomboid, chin and crown rounded off. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: elongated body with slight concave curvatures at sides of body and narrowing to point at base.

Dress: -

Alabaster; 5.5cm. ht.; whole.

PYR1 (Fig.12)

From Pyrgos. Herakleion Museum No. 254

Unknown Sex

Posture: -

Gesture: -

Head: - (missing)

Torso and Lower Half: elongated body narrowing to rounded-off point.

Dress: -

Green schist stone; 4.2cm. ht.; whole.

LEB1 (Fig.11c)

From Lebena. Herakleion Museum - (no.inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: Type 1(c)

Head: - (missing)

**Torso and Lower Half:** triangular, narrowing to rounded-off point.

Rounded shoulders and slight inward curve  
at waist on both sides. Flat back. Slight  
incision across middle (for arms).

**Dress:** -

Marble; ht. unknown.

TYPE B (Nos. 5, 30, 33, 175, 176, *PYR2*, *PYR3*, *PYR4*, *AR1*, *AR2*, *AR3*, 131)

No. 5 (Pl. 7; Fig.1)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 115

Unknown Sex

**Posture:** Type 5(b): as above

**Gesture:** - (slightly protruding arm stumps)

**Head:** rounded oval with flattened back. No neck - sitting on  
shoulders. No facial characteristics.

**Torso and Lower Half:** triangular body with small protrusions at  
shoulders, and narrowing to rounded-off point  
at base. Rounded, near horizontal shoulders.  
Flat sides and back.

**Dress:** -

Marble; 7.4cm. ht.

No. 30 (Pl.8)

From Platanos. Herakleion Museum No. 229

Male

**Posture:** Type 5(b)

**Gesture:** - (no indications)

**Head:** triangular, with rounded, well modelled chin and flat crown.

Carved eyes, nose and incised mouth. Carved and modelled



ears. Low neck.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular body narrowing to rounded-off end and rounded slanting shoulders. Two holes either side of torso in arm positions, one in navel going through to back and two either side of end.

Dress: - (no indications) flat circular hat on head.

Ivory; 5cm. ht.

No. 33 (Pl. 9)

From Porti. Herakleion Museum No. 173

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Heads: rounded oval with flattened back. No neck - sitting on shoulders. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: tongue-shaped body with rounded, slanting shoulders. Flat sides, base and back.

Dress: -

Limestone; 8.5cm. ht.

No. 175 (Pl. 10)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum No. 310

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded oval with flat back and small fragment missing at top.

No neck - head sitting on shoulders with incision round base of head. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular body with slightly flattened base

and short, slanting shoulders. Flat sides  
and back. Slightly concave back.

Dress: -

Crystal; 6.4cm. ht.

No. 176 (Pl. 11)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum No. 311

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded triangle with slightly convex back. Low, wide neck.

No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular body, narrowing to rounded-off  
point; and angular, short, slightly slanting  
shoulders. Slightly convex back and flattish  
sides.

Dress: -

Crystal; 4.2cm. ht.

Added to these five figurines belonging to Schematic Type B group  
must be added three from Pyrgos: these figurines are regarded by  
the author as being early renditions of this type, and are pub-  
lished.<sup>5</sup>

PYR2 (Fig. 13a)

From Pyrgos. Herakleion Museum No. 253

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded, projecting stump, but unevenly placed. No facial  
features.

**Torso and Lower Half:** elongated triangular body, narrowing to  
 flattened base. Flattened body. Rounded,  
 uneven shoulders.

**Dress:** -

**Stone;** 35.5cm. ht.

**PYR3 (Fig. 13b)**

**From Pyrgos.** Herakleion Museum No. 255

**Unknown Sex**

**Posture:** Type 5(b): as above

**Gesture:** - (no indications)

**Head:** rounded oblong projection , but chipped round the top edge.

**Torso and Lower Half:** narrow tongue-shaped body with shoulders and  
 lower half chipped and broken off.

**Dress:** -

**Stone:** ht. unknown.

**PYR4 (Fig. 13c)**

**From Pyrgos.** Herakleion Museum No. 256

**Unknown Sex**

**Posture:** Type 5(b): as above

**Gesture:** - (no indications)

**Head:** rounded oblong projection.

**Torso and Lower Half:** tongue-shaped body with short, slanting shoulders.

**Dress:** -

**Schist stone;** 18cm. ht.

From Archanes came a figurine and fragments of two others of the  
 same type, in addition to one from Koumasa and one from Platanos.

These were not studied by the author.

AR1 (Fig. 14a)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum No. 1101

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded oval with slightly convex back of head. Merging into body. No facial characteristics. Slight incision at base of head.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular body narrowing to slightly flattened base. Slightly convex front and back; angular, short, near horizontal shoulders.

Dress: -

Crystal; 4.65cm. ht.

AR2, AR3

From Archanes.<sup>6</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 1102

Herakleion Museum No. 1103

Two upper halves of body fragments of similar type to 1101.

Both made of crystal.

2.2cm. ht and 1.3cm. ht. respectively.

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 131 (Fig. 14b)

Lower half extant only - triangular body narrowing to rounded-off base. Rounded profile. Limestone. Ht. unknown.

TYPE C (Nos. 34, 177, 178, PYR5, PYR6, PYR7, TR1, (SAMBA))

No. 34 (Pl. 12, Fig. 2)

From Porti. Herakleion Museum No. 172

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above



**Gesture:** - (no indications)

**Head:** rounded oval with flat back and sides. No neck - head resting on shoulders. No facial characteristics.

**Torso and Lower Half:** oblong with flat back, sides and base and slightly convex front. Short, slanting shoulders, and slightly narrowing body at base.

**Dress:** -

Limestone; 10.5cm. ht.; whole.

No. 177 (Pl. 13)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum No. 308

Unknown Sex

**Posture:** Type 5(b): as above

**Gesture:** - (no indications)

**Head:** broad, tongue-shaped head, flat at back and convex front separated from body by deep groove. Ridge down centre of face.

**Torso and Lower Half:** long, thin oblong with flat back, base and sides and slightly convex front. Narrowing slightly at base. Short, angular shoulders.

**Dress:** -

Crystal; 6.5cm. ht.

No. 178 (Pl. 14)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum No. 309

Unknown Sex

**Posture:** Type 5(b): as above

**Gesture:** short, triangular projections emerging from body (denoting arm stumps?)

**Head:** broad, dome-shaped head with flattened back and deep carved groove separating head from body. Convex front with no

facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: broad, oblong body with flattened back and  
convex front, slightly narrowing at base.

Incisions below arm stumps.

Dress: -

Limestone; 5.5cm. ht.

Added to these three figurines from the Schematic Type C group are three from Pyrgos whose rudimentary forms are thought by the author to resemble early renditions of this group. Both are published.<sup>7</sup> In addition one may include a large, almost phallus-shaped, marble figurine from Trapeza which is 11.4cm. in height. (TR1). (Fig. 15a)

PYR5 (Fig. 15d)

From Pyrgos. Herakleion Museum No. 257

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: irregular semi-circle - flattened and merged into body.

No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: irregular oblong extending out on left side  
and narrowing at base. Flattened.

Stone; 14cm. ht.

PYR6 (Fig. 15c)

From Pyrgos. Herakleion Museum No. 258

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: - (no indications) - missing?

Torso and Lower Half: oblong body with rounded ends and narrowing  
at base. Flattened.

Stone; 11cm. ht.

PYR7 (Fig. 15b)

From Pyrgos. Herakleion Museum No. 252

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b): as above

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: irregular and small rounded projection. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: irregular oblong with rounded ends and  
narrowing at base. Flattened.

Stone; ht. unknown.

One more figurine<sup>8</sup> may be added to this list, recently discovered near the village of Sambas at Lakkos, in central, northern Crete. It strongly resembles the figurines from Porti and Trapeza of this type group except that it has a long neck and slightly broader shoulders. More interesting, perhaps, is its size - 67.5cm. - the biggest figurine to have ever been found in Crete from this period.

From Samba. Herakleion Museum (no inv.number) (Fig. 16)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: round, supported by long thick neck. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: long oblong body narrowing to flattened  
base. Wide, rounded shoulders.

Dress: -

Stone; 67.5cm.ht., (17cm. width across shoulders, 8.5cm. width across base).

TYPE D<sup>9</sup> (TR6 TR7)

TR6 (Fig. 2)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded with flat back and convex front. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: hemispherical body with slanting shoulders (giving 'spade' shape). Oval profile.

Dress: -

Shell; 3.3cm. ht.

TR7

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture; - (no indications)<sup>9</sup>

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: squarish with flat back and convex front. Indentation for neck.

Torso and Lower Half: spade-shaped body with rounded base; straight sides and short, slightly slanting, angular shoulders.

Dress: -

Shell; 3.3cm. ht.



TYPE E (No. 215)

No. 215 (Fig. 3)

From Myrtos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7081

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)<sup>10</sup>

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded dome with carved groove for neck.

Torso and Lower Half: tripartite shape with flat base.

Dress: -

Limestone; 5.6cm. ht.

TYPE F.I (6, 179, 180, TR8, TR11, TR12)

No. 6 (Pl. 15, Fig. 3)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 126

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 1(b)

Head: polygonal with flat top, sides and back and pointed chin.

Light incision round neck, and mouth indicated by incision.

Torso: square with angular, horizontal shoulders and angular

elbows. Arms incised with parallel diagonal lines where

they meet at centre of waist. Broken below waist.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: beginning of apron or belt just below folded arms (?)

Ivory; 2.5cm. ht.

No. 179 (Pl. 16)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum No. 230

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 1(b)

Head: polygonal with flat top and back and rounded-off pointed chin.

Mouth incised, and carved out neck.

Torso: square with angular, horizontal shoulders and cut-off, angular elbows. Arms incised in front and behind with parallel diagonal lines where they meet at centre of waist. Shallow incised V-shape just below folded arms.

Lower Half: legs and buttocks and knees sharply incised. Legs separated half-way down thighs, to feet. Carved and incised feet.

Dress: possible split apron (most noticeable in profile) down to knees.

Bone; 5.2cm. ht.

No. 180 (Pl. 17)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum No. 273

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 1(b)

Head: polygonal with flat top and back and pointed chin. Mouth incised and back base of head. Neck carved out.

Torso: square with angular, horizontal shoulders and cut-off, angular elbows. Arms incised at front and back with parallel diagonal lines where they meet at centre of waist. Shallow V-shaped incision below arms.

Lower Half: legs, buttocks and knees sharply incised. (Missing below knees.) Legs separated half way down thighs.

Bone; 3.4cm. ht.

Added to these three figurines of the Schematic Type F.I group there are three more from Trapeza, and all made of bone. They were not studied by the author but are fully published. These are Nos. TR8, TR11, and TR12 of the catalogue in this thesis. TR8 is completely preserved (5.6cm. ht.). Two differences may be noted: the arms are placed with the right above the left across the waist; and there is a slight V-shaped incision down the spine of the torso.

TR11 is complete save for the lower legs and feet (4.4cm. ht.), but otherwise of the same type as F.I 179 and 180.

TR12 is missing below the knees (3.3cm. ht.) - but again similar to the above.

#### TYPE F.II (216)

No. 216 (Fig. 3)

From Myrtos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7080

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 1(b) with knees slightly bent

Gesture: Type 10

Head: triangular with chipped-off tip of crown. Incised mouth.

Flattened nose ridge. No neck, but incision round base of head.

Torso: square, with slanting shoulders, straight incised arms and waist. Slight incision vertically down middle.

Lower Half: legs joined with incision down middle, (broken off half way down thighs).

Steatite (pale green and translucent); ext. ht. 3.5cm.

TYPE G.I<sup>11</sup> (A01, A02, LEB2)

A01 + A02 (Fig. 4)

From Agios Onouphrios. Herakleion Museum (no inv.number). Both characterised by small, rounded heads on elongated, thin necks.

Bodies are broad, spade-shaped with rounded shoulders and carved out V-shape at base to denote short legs. The mouth is indicated by incision and Fig. A01 has a nose (carved): otherwise no facial characteristics are evident.

Fig. A01 has indications of breasts (carved) whereas Fig. A02, the smaller of the two, has a ripple in the neck. Both are made of marble: 11.6cm. & 7.6cm. ht. respectively.

LEB2 (Fig. 17)

From Lebena. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex. Of identical type to the above two from Agios Onouphrios but more worn, rounded edges and the head missing.

Unknown ht.

TYPE G.II<sup>12</sup> (A03)

A03 (Fig. 4)

From Agios Onouphrios. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Tall, thin neck flattened at the top (head missing?) with angular, spade-shaped body. No other characteristics.

Marble; 4.2cm. ht.

TYPE G.III<sup>13</sup> (LEB3, LEB4)

LEB3 + LEB4 (Fig. 5)

From Lebena. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.numbers) (two examples)

Short but thin neck merging into long oval head with flattened



top. Rounded spade-shaped body. No other characteristics.

Marble; unknown hts.

#### TYPE H (A04)

A04 (Fig. 5)

From Agios Onouphrios. Herakleion Museum (no inv.number)

Featureless and squarish head narrowing to neck and merging into long, slanting shoulders. Short, stumpy arm projections tapering into short and levelled-off torso.

Marble; 4.0cm. ht.

#### TYPE I (MAL1)

MAL1 (Fig. 6)

From Mallia Palace.

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: Type 3(d) - (but broken off)

Head: rounded lump projecting from shoulders - much worn, but inclining backwards, almost horizontal. Pointed head.

Torso and Lower Half: horizontal shoulders and projecting arm stumps. Torso curving inwards on both sides for waist and enlarging towards base with rounded-off base (much worn). Head and middle of back decorated with black painted lines.

Painted navel. Thin, flattened profile.

Dress: possible belt indications at back and hat, painted.

Clay; 5.5cm. ht.

TYPE J.I (Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 31, 227, 124, AR4, AR5, AR6, AR7, AR8, MYR1, PYR8, TK1, TK2, TK3, LEB5, LEB6, LEB7, VAS1)  
AR4 + AR5 (Fig. 18a)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: Type 5(a) - feet slightly apart and on 'tiptoe'

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Heads: spade-shaped with long, narrow, projecting nose (triangular concave back giving 'tilted back' effect. Long thin neck. No other facial characteristics.

Torso: rectangular shape with wide, slanting, angular shoulders. Angular elbow projecting from waist. Arms incised and breasts carved/modelled.

Lower Half: legs run straight down curving inwards for ankles and out again for spread out feet. Incision down middle of legs and incised pubic triangle.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; ht. unknown.

AR6 (Fig. 19a)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: Type 5(a) - no feet - missing?

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: as above (AR4 & AR5)

Lower Half: legs run straight down curving in for ankles. Deep groove between legs and incised pubic triangle.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; ht. unknown.

AR7 (Fig. 18c)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Male

Posture: Type 5(a)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head:

Torso: as above (AR1, 5, 6)

Lower Half: legs run straight down curving in for ankles.

Incision between legs and carved/modelled small penis.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; ht. unknown.

AR8 (Fig. 19b)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female (?)

Posture: Type 5(a)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: as above but very worn and rounded shoulders and elbows.

Arms incised and slanting. No indications visible of breasts.

Lower Half: as above. Incised pubic triangle, very worn and left foot missing.

Two heads belonging to the Type J.I group were found at Archanes (AR9): both revealed long, narrow noses and incised mouths. The back of the heads produced a concave profile giving the 'tilted-back' effect.

In addition to these two heads, one more from Myrtos appears to be

of a similar type (217). It reveals the same spade-shape merging into a long thin neck. It has an exaggerated backward tilt at the top of the head but shows no facial features. Unlike the other heads of this type, however, it was made of an orange-buff clay and not marble. (Fig. 18b)

No. 15 (Pl. 18, Fig. 7)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 125

Female

Posture: Type 5(a) - (with spread out feet)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: spade-shaped with long, narrow, projecting triangular nose.

Concave back of head giving 'backward tilt' effect. Long, thin neck broken off at base of neck and suspension holes either side of break.

Torso: as above, with suspension hole below crack in neck.

Lower Half: legs running straight down and curving inwards for ankles and out again for feet - with V-shape carved out between feet. Incision between legs and incised pubic triangle.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; 11cm. ht.

No. 16 (Pl. 19)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 127

Female

Posture: Probably Type 5(a) (missing below upper thighs)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: spade-shaped with long, narrow, projecting triangular nose and small, horizontal incision for mouth. Light incision below



head. Long, thin neck.

Torso: as above, with light incision vertically down centre of back and light V incision between shoulders on back. Back of arms incised.

Lower Half: - missing below upper thighs. Suspension hole just below incised pubic triangle.

Dress: - (no indication)

Marble; 7.3cm. ht.

No. 17 (Pl. 20)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 126

Female

Posture: as above

Gesture: as above

Head: spade-shaped with long, projecting, triangular nose. Long, thin neck. Break at base of neck with two suspension holes either side of crack. Light incision round base of head above neck.

Torso: as above

Lower Half: - missing, below knees. Incised between legs with incision running through pubic triangle in front. Light incision for buttocks at back.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; 15.5cm. ht.

No. 18 (Pl. 21)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 123

Female

Posture: as above

Gesture: as above

Head: more square spade-shape with long, projecting, triangular nose, and two small parallel incisions for mouth.

Incision at base of head and base of neck.

Torso: as above, but wider and more rounded profile.

Lower Half: - missing below knees. Incised pubic triangle and deep groove between legs. Wider hips and more rounded profile than above.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; 24cm. ht.

No 31. (Pl. 22)

From Platanos. Herakleion Museum No. 224

Female

Posture: as above, with spread out feet.

Gesture: as above

Head: upper half missing. Lower half of long, narrow, projecting, triangular nose evident. Long, thin neck with incision round base of neck.

Torso: short, wide, rectangular shape with incised arms in front and two vertical incisions at back for arms only.

Lower Half: legs running straight down, curving inwards at ankles and spread out feet. Incision between legs and incised pubic triangle.

Dress: -

Marble; 11cm. ht.

No. 227 (Pl. 23)

From Siteia. Ashmolean Museum No. AE 172

Female

Posture: as above.

**Gesture:** as above

**Head:** spade-shaped with long, narrow, triangular, projecting nose and light incision below head and at base of neck (diagonal).

**Torso:** short, wide, rectangular shape with deep, irregular incisions for arms on front only.

**Lower Half:** short legs running straight down curving inwards at ankles and out again for spread out feet. V-shape carved out between feet. Deep incision between legs and pubic triangle incised.

**Dress:** -

Marble; 9.9cm. ht.

To these eleven figurines and two heads belonging to the Schematic Type J.I group must be added the following figurines.

None have been personally studied by the author but all have been adequately published.<sup>14</sup>

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 124

Female

**Posture:** as above

**Gesture:** as above

**Head, torso and lower half:** as above

Marble; 15.3cm. ht.

*PYR8*

From Pyrgos. Herakleion Museum - (no.inv.number)

Female

**Posture:** as above

**Gesture:** as above

**Head, torso and lower half:** as above

Marble; 9.9cm. ht.

TK1, TK2, TK3<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 20a-c)

From Tekes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.numbers)

All Female

Postures and gestures: as above

Heads, torsos and lower halves: as above

Marble: 13.2cm. ht., 15.2cm. ht., 4.9cm. ht. respectively.

LEB5, LEB6, LEB7<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 20d)

From Lebena. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

All Female

Postures and gestures: as above

Heads, torsos and lower halves: as above

Marble; unknown ht., 8.6cm. ht., 13.5cm. ht. respectively

VAS1 (Fig. 21)

From Vasiliki. Present location and inv. number unknown

Female

Posture and gesture: as above

Torso extant only: as above

Marble; ht. unknown.

TYPE J.II<sup>17</sup> (19, AR10)

No. 19 (Pl. 24)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 122

Female

Posture: Type 5(a)

Gesture: Type 1(a) with arms folded above the waist.

Head: long spade-shaped with wider, projecting, triangular nose.

Exaggerated concave back of head to give 'backward tilt'

effect and leaving pronounced chin. Long neck.

Torso: wide, rectangular shape with heavily incised and semi-modelled



arms (more rounded) with elbows projecting out from body.

Swollen abdomen denoting pregnancy and rounded breasts.

Incision down centre of spine.

Lower Half: legs slightly bent with deep groove between them and slight attempt at modelling knees. More rounded profile. Feet separated and toes incised. Incised pubic triangle and slight navel indentation.

Dress: -

Marble; 23.5cm. ht.

AR10 (Fig. 8)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: as above

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: long spade-shape with long, projecting, triangular nose.

Concave back of head giving 'backward tilt' effect, with chin brought forwards. Long neck.

Torso: more square torso with incised arms. More rounded profile.

Lower Half: legs slightly bent at knees, though no indication of latter. Pubic triangle incised and filled with small holes. Deep groove carved between legs and feet clearly indicated with toes incised. More rounded profile.

Dress: - (holes within pubic triangle may have been filled with pieces of gold leaf?)

Ivory; 8.5cm. ht.

TYPE J.III (AR11)

AR11 (Fig. 7)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 5(a)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: elongated spade-shape with long oblong, projecting nose.

Long neck. No other features.

Torso: more square-shaped with gap between torso and upper arms.

Arms carved out and modelled. Small triangular breasts -  
modelled.Lower Half: missing below thighs. Deep groove between legs,  
eventually separating both legs.

Dress: -

Marble; 8cm. ht.

TYPE J.IV<sup>18</sup> (TK4)

TK4 (Fig. 9)

From Tekes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: Type 5(a)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: - (missing). Long, thin neck with V-shaped incision at base.

Torso: wide but short rectangle with broad, slightly slanting shoulders. Arms deeply incised. Small, carved cone-shaped breasts.  
Flattened, slightly convex back.Lower Half: long, thin legs tapering inwards at ankles and fanning  
out at feet (one foot missing). Small incised pubic

triangle and incision down centre of legs.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; ht. unknown.

TYPE J.V<sup>19</sup> (TK5)

TK5 (Fig. 9)

From Tekes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: Type 4(b)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: rounded oval with flattened top tilting backwards. Carved out eyes; carved and modelled nose and ears. Pronounced chin. Thick, wide neck with incision at base of neck.

Torso: square with flat back and sides and slightly convex front. Very thick profile. Narrow incised arms. Slight cone-shaped breast protrusions.

Lower Half: thick, rounded legs with groove in between - seated on large four-legged stool. Rounded feet and modelled knees. Slight incision for pubic triangle.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; ht. unknown.

TYPE J.VI (TK6)

TK6 (Fig. 10)

From Tekes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: - (legs missing below thighs)

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head:<sup>20</sup> Flat, wide oval with concave back of head giving 'tilting back' effect. Modelled, large, protruding nose and mouth. Long, thin, rounded neck; pronounced chin.

Torso: long, slanting rounded shoulders. Triangular torso with arms incised high up - deep, horizontal groove. Small triangular breasts. Swollen abdomen. Slight incisions for pubic triangle, but very worn. Deep groove where legs are clearly separated. Rounded profile.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; ht. unknown.

TYPE J.VII<sup>21</sup> (Nos. 7, 125)

No. 7 (Pl. 25, Fig. 10)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 124

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 1(a)

Head: round with flattened top and back and incision round top of head. Two holes for eyes; mouth incised with long horizontal line and ears carved and modelled. Incision round base of head. Thick low neck.

Torso: long, squarish body with short, slanting but rounded shoulders, and elbows. Arms incised horizontally on front with two diagonal incisions on back denoting elbows and arms. Two parallel incisions right round waist. Flat back.

Lower Half: legs rounded in front and flat at back with deep groove in between, separating them. Broken off below knees.



Dress: belt round waist.

Ivory; 8cm. ht.

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 125<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 22)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: - (arms missing?)

Head: round with flattened top and back. Small, thin neck.

Two holes for eyes, mouth incised with horizontal line.

Nose carved.

Torso: oblong with short, horizontal shoulders and long, straight sides. Flat back. Thin, carved belt round waist.

Lower Half: (missing below knees). Legs rounded in front and flat at back with deep incision and groove in between, separating them below the knees.

Ht. unknown.

#### TYPE K (LEN1)

LEN1<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 6)

From Lendas.

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: small and spade-shaped with rounded-off chin and flattened crown. No facial characteristics evident. Short neck.

Torso and Lower Half: short, plank-shaped body with slightly slanting, wide shoulders. Featureless.

Stone; 7cm. ht.

## 2. Naturalistic Figurines

### TYPE AA (Nos. 8, 9, 10, 32, 182)

No. 8 (Pl. 26, Fig. 23)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 114

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(f)

Head: rounded with low neck merging into body. Eyes and mouth incised and nose carved.

Torso and Lower Half: rectangular block with slight convex curving on either side for waist, and long slanting and rounded shoulders. Arms incised at front and back. Flat base.

Dress: dress(?) extending down to the ground almost vertically

Striated alabaster; 7.2cm. ht.

No. 9 (Pl. 27)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 127

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 1(b) (inclining slightly upwards towards centre)

Head: triangular with flat top and back and rounded-off chin.

Two holes for eyes and hole on top of head and at back of head. No neck - head resting on shoulders.

Torso: squarish, with short, gently slanting shoulders and rounded elbows extending out from waist. Arms carved out. Flat back.

Lower Half: squarish, extending outwards towards base with incision

round bottom edge. Curved in towards waist. Flat back,  
giving hemispherical base.

Dress: dress extending to ground and extending slightly outwards  
at base with band round bottom edge.

Ivory; 3.2cm. ht.

No. 10 (Pl. 28)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 123

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(f) (left arm slightly lower than right)

Head: rounded, with flattened back of head. Two holes for eyes  
and incision for mouth. Head resting on shoulders - no neck.

Torso: long and rectangular with flattened back. Arms incised on  
front and back. Gently sloping, rounded shoulders.

Lower Half: mildly bell-shaped with slight incurving in centre  
leaving indication of legs beneath covering. Flat back.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground, surmounted by cape or  
cloak on upper half(?)

Ivory; 7.3cm. ht.

No. 32 (Pl. 29)

From Platanos. Herakleion Museum No. 230

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 1(b) (arms not quite meeting in centre)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: triangular, with rounded elbows extending out from waist.

Arms carved and modelled. Two sets of parallel diagonal  
incisions extending from each shoulder to meet at centre

of waist. Flat back.

Lower Half: bell-shaped, with three incisions round bottom half.

Flat back.

Dress: bell-shaped, extending to ground with V-shaped opening round neck and double band round base of dress.

Unknown ht.

Added to these figurines of the Type AA Naturalistic group is the torso of a woman from Kalathiana tomb K.<sup>24</sup> The head is missing but the arms are incised (Gesture Type 2(f)) with additional light vertical incision down the front of the torso - possibly indicating a dress or cape. The back is flat with a hole in the back of the neck. (Fig. 27a).

TYPE BB (Nos. 20, 21, 525, 129, GOU1)

No. 20 (Pl. 30, Fig. 23)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 135 (+ No. 525)

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(f)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: triangular with elbows (chipped off) extending outwards from body. Arms carved and fingers indicated. Flat front and rounded back, extending to peak at back of neck. Incision round back of waist.

Lower Half: bell-shaped, with rounded protrusion at back, and flat front. Drawn in waist.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt/dress(?) extending to ground with short jacket(?) on top rising to peaked collar at back of neck.



Ivory; 2.5cm. ht.

No. 21 (Pl. 31)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 128 (+ No. 129) (Fig. 27b)

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(f) (inner arms and hands not indicated)

Head: triangular, with rounded crown and incision round back of head - tapering to point for chin. Ears incised. No other facial features. No neck.

Torso: spear-head shaped, with lower edges indicating elbows projecting out from waist and up towards chest. Flat front and rounded back rising to peak at back of head.

Lower Half: triangular, with flat base and front and rounded back.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground.

Steatite; 6.6cm. ht., and 5.3cm. ht. respectively.

*GOU1* (Fig. 27c)

From Gournes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(f)

Head: round, surmounted by head-piece. Circular eyes and pupils painted, with small, long, projected nose. Low neck with band painted round it.

Torso: triangular, with arms projecting out slightly from waist. Arms modelled. Waist pulled slightly inwards.

Lower Half: bell-shaped, and painted dark.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground with thin white band round waist. 'Open-bowl' shaped hat, extending up from

head painted with white diagonal bands. White band round neck.

Clay;

TYPE CC<sup>25</sup> (Nos. 22, 23, 24)

No. 22 (Fig. 23)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 4308

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing: figurine unfinished)

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: inclined backwards and rising to peak with rounded-off end.

No facial features. Band round neck.

Torso: rounded, slanting shoulders with broad chest narrowing downwards for waist.

Lower Half: - missing (unfinished projections)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay; 5.4cm. ht.

No. 23 (Pl. 32)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 4307

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 4(b) (but lower part missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: broad, slightly slanting shoulders, wide chest narrowing for waist with elongated middle, to thighs.

Lower Half: legs curve inwards (as if seated) but missing below upper thigh. Featureless.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay; 5.6cm. ht.

No. 24 (Pl. 33)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 4306

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 4(a) (but lower part missing)

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: rounded head with projecting nozzle in front (beak?). No other features. Long neck merging into body.

Torso: broad shoulders extending into arm stumps and wide chest narrowing for waist with elongated middle, to thighs.

Lower Half: legs curved inwards (as if seated) and separately moulded - but missing below upper thigh. Featureless.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay; 7.3cm. ht.

# TYPE DD (No. 25)

No. 25 (Fig. 24)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 5050

Female<sup>26</sup>

Posture: - (missing below chest)

Gesture: Type 4(b)

Head: (left hand upper side broken off). Rounded oval with projecting, rounded nose pinched out from face. Thick neck merging into body.

Torso: (largely missing). One arm extant - moulded separately and brought forwards away from body. Rounded back.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: fragment of 'open-bowl' shaped hat extending upwards from

head. Moulded separately. Garment with high, thick collar extending round the back of the neck and open in front.

Clay; 4.8cm. ht.

TYPE EE (Nos. 26, AR12)

No. 26 (Pl. 31, Fig. 24)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 5055

Female<sup>27</sup>

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(d) (and slightly curved inwards)

Head: round with projecting nose pinched out from face, leaving two circular indentations for eyes. Pronounced chin and thick, long neck.

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical body extending out towards base and rising slightly at back of neck. Convex back, flattened front and 'cupped' base.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground and rising at back of neck with thick collar. Rounded hat on back of head with rib down centre and thick band round edge. Traces of dark band round forehead.

Clay; 7.4cm. ht.

No. AR12<sup>28</sup> (Fig. 28)

From Archanes. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(c)

Head: oval, rising to rounded off peak. Roughly moulded face with no distinguishable features except chin. Low thick neck.



**Torso and Lower Half:** long cylindrical body extending out towards base. Slightly convex front and flattened back.

**Dress:** bell-shaped dress extending to ground. Tall dome-shaped hat with projecting piece at back of neck (tassle?).

**Bronze;** ht. unknown.

TYPE FF (No. 27)

No. 27 (Pl. 35, Fig. 25)

From Koumasa. Herakleion Museum No. 4998

**Female**

**Posture:** Type 4(b) (legs broken off below thighs)

**Gesture:** Type 3(a)? (arms broken off)

**Head:** squarish, with top half extending backwards. Flat concave back of head. Projecting nose - pinched out from face leaving eye indentations. Two 'pellets' inserted for eyes. Thick neck merging into body.

**Torso:** square, with flat front, back and sides and two circular small breasts applied onto chest.

**Lower Half:** flat base with legs curved in and thighs projecting forwards (rest missing) at right angles to body.

**Dress:** - (no indications) Possible flat hat extending up from head and inclining backwards.

**Clay;** 8cm. ht.

TYPE GG.I (Nos. 218, 219, PK1, TR14)

No. PK1 (Fig. 25)

From Palaikastro - (unknown present location)

**Unknown Sex**

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: dome, shaped, with flattened back. Long, oblong, projecting nose applied and two small pellet eyes. No neck. Arms projecting at level of face.

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical body extending straight down and resting on flat base. No other features.

Dress: - (no indications) small cap on back of head with band(?) round forehead.

Clay; 9cm. ht.

No. 218 (Fig. 30)

From Myrtos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7083

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(c) (but attached to body)

Head: square, with flattened top and front and rounded back inclining backwards. No facial characteristics.

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical body with irregular, rounded base rising up at back.

Dress: - (no indications) possible round flat cap on top of head.

Traces of red slip on body.

Clay; 3.45cm. ht.

No. 219 (Fig. 30)

From Myrtos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7084

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: rounded oval with flattened top. No facial characteristics.

**Torso and Lower Half:** long, cylindrical body with irregular base.

Short, triangular arm projections at level  
of chest.

**Dress:** - (no indications) rounded cap on back of head. Traces  
of red slip on front of body.

Clay; 4.7cm. ht.

*TR14* (Fig. 29a)

From Trapeza. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

**Posture:** Type 4(b)

**Gesture:** Type 3(d)

**Head:** squarish, with rounded top and inclining backwards. Pro-  
truding nose pinched out from face. No other facial  
characteristics.

**Torso:** cylindrical body with slightly convex back giving 'backward  
tilt' effect and rounded front, but featureless.

**Lower Half:** short, thick leg stumps curved inwards and flat base  
seated on rounded stool with short leg projections.

**Dress:** - (no indications) rounded cap on back and top of head  
with little pellet in centre of back of head.

Clay; 4.4cm. ht., Stool 1.5cm. ht.

TYPE GG.II (Nos. 220, *MYR1*, *VAS1*)

No. 220 (Fig. 26)

From Myrtos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7086

Unknown Sex

**Posture:** Type 3

**Gesture:** Type 3(d) (but curved slightly inwards)

Head: cylindrical, with rounded top. Projecting nose ridge down centre pinched out from face and leaving two eye indentations. Head and neck as one, merging into body.

Torso: torso narrowing irregularly to broken off stump at waist and arms pulled forwards into short stumps.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications) oval and wavy cap on top of head.

Traces of red slip.

Clay (buff); Ext. ht. 5.5cm.

MYR1 (Fig. 29b)

A single torso from Myrtos of this type was uncovered: the head and lower half were missing. It has short arm projections pulled out from the body, similar to No. 220 above, but with rounded-off ends. The torso narrows to the waist in a similar manner to the above, it is made of an orange-buff clay with small grits and is 3.5cm. in height.

VAS1 (Fig. 29c)

A figurine from Vasiliki dated to EMII B that was not studied or seen personally but has been published must be added to the Naturalistic type group GG. It has a preserved height of 6cm., with the lower part apparently missing. It has a large, oval head with a projecting nose ridge and slight eye indentations. On the head is a disc-shaped hat which rises to a point at the back. It has a crude, cylindrical body flaring out towards the end and short arm projections: on the left side of the chest it holds an object of indiscernable shape<sup>29</sup> whilst the right arm is broken off.



TYPE HH (No. 221)

No. 221 (Fig. 26)

From Myrtos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7082

Unknown Sex

Head Only: cylindrical shape with cone-shaped tenon on lower half. Nose and ears moulded strips of clay applied.

Eyes painted dark brown.

Dress: dark brown, thick collar with three vertical strips coming down from it in front. Thick round and flattened cap on top of head painted dark brown with veil hanging down back of head and behind ears to join collar in front.

TABLE 17  
THE PRE-PALATIAL PERIOD: TYPES AND LOCATION  
1) SCHEMATIC

LOCATION	A	B	C	D	E	F.I	F.II	G.I	G.II	G.III	H	I	J.I	J.II	J.III	J.IV	J.V	J.VI	J.VII	K
AGIA TRIADHA	6	1				1													2	
AGIOS ONOUPHRIOS								2	1		1									
ARCHANES		3											6	1	1					
KOUMASA	1	1											5	1						
LEBENA	1							1		2			3							
LEND A																				1
MALLIA												1								
MYRTOS					1		1						1							
PLATANOS	2	1											1							
PORTI		1	1																	
PYRGOS	1	3	3										1							
SAMBA			1																	
SITEIA													1							
SIVA																			1	
TEKES													3			1	1	1		
TRAPEZA		2	2	2		5														
VASILIKI													1							
TOTALS	11	12	7	2	1	6	1	3	1	2	1	1	22	2	1	1	1	1	3	1

38%

38%

TABLE 18

2) NATURALISTIC

LOCATION	AA	BB	CC	DD	EE	FF	GG, I	GG, II	HH	
AGIA TRIADHA	3				1					
ARCHANES		1								
GOURNES										
KALATHIANA	1									
KOUMASA		4	3	1	1	1				
PALAIKASTRO							1			
PLATANOS	1									
TRAPEZA							1			
MYRTOS							2	1	1	
VASILIKI								1		
TOTALS	5	5	3	1	2	1	4	2	1	24

The dating of figurines from the Pre-palatial period, as seen in Part II, has often proved difficult: very few come from pure, stratified deposits. The majority were found either in mixed burial strata or in isolated, mixed deposits from settlements. However, a total of one hundred and two figurines have been allocated to the Pre-palatial period<sup>30</sup> and placed within two groups (Schematic and Naturalistic) and twenty-nine different types and varieties within these groups.

From Tables 17 and 18 it is quite clear that schematic figurines are far more abundant than those regarded as being naturalistic<sup>31</sup> - in fact the former comprise approximately 77%<sup>32</sup> of the total number of figurines from this period. Within the Schematic group there appears to be a clear dividing line in numbers between those figurines that belong to the types A, B and C and those which belong to types J.I-J.VII.

The figurines that belong to types A, B and C have many similar characteristics. All have long, almost shapeless bodies that taper downwards to a point, or rounded end. Types A and B have more triangular-shaped bodies, whereas Type C figurines have more oblong-shaped bodies. Figurines of Type A tend to be more angular but are more readily distinguished from Type B figurines in the representation of folded arms across their middle or upper body by means of an incision, groove and/or indentations on the sides of the body, or below the shoulders. Figurines of Type B, however, have smoother, rounded-off edges and although triangular, have featureless bodies. Type C figurines also tend to be featureless<sup>33</sup> but have distinctly oblong, long bodies with flat bases. All the figurines of types A, B and C have either no neck or a very low



one merging into the body. Type A tend to have no neck, and are surmounted by small heads of either oval, rhomboidal or triangular shape with characteristically pointed chins.<sup>34</sup> Figurines of Type B have mainly rounded, oval-shaped heads, sometimes on low necks as do Type C, though the latter may also be more dome-shaped (No. 179 from Trapeza) or tongue-shaped (No. 177 from Trapeza). The figurines belonging to these three types, despite their differences, belong to related families; and of the seventy-nine schematic figurines from this period comprise approximately 38% of that number.

The second biggest group of schematic figurines from the Pre-palatial period belong to Type J.I and its varieties, Types J.II-J.VII which again comprise approximately 38% of the total number of schematic figurines. They belong to the Folded Arm variety of figurine, commonly found and associated with the Cycladic Islands,<sup>35</sup> and are characterized by their broad, squarish, spade-shaped heads which tilt backwards and reveal long, projecting, triangular noses. They have wide, rectangular-shaped torsos with their arms folded over their waists, the left over the right, and indicated by incision. Their short legs run straight down, incised down the centre and curving in for the ankles. The feet, in 'tip-toe' position, are spread outwards and in some cases the toes are incised. All are female, with one exception, as indicated by their incised pubic triangles and in many cases their small cone-shaped breasts. Two have swollen abdomens (one from Koumasa and one from Tekes) denoting pregnancy, and one female is seated on a large stool (from Tekes). One male figurine has been uncovered at Archanes, as indicated by a small, triangular, carved penis and is the

only one of its kind from Crete, though in form the figurine belongs to the Type *J.I* group. As in the Cyclades all the figurines from Types *J.I-J.VII* are carved out of marble, except for one from Archanes (Type *J.II*) which is carved out of ivory. Within the incised pubic triangle are a number of holes which may have once held a further decorative material like gold leaf.

Between these two groups of schematic figurines is a variety of types (D-H & K), some exemplified by only one figurine, as with Type E represented by one example from Myrtos. This limestone figurine has a dome-shaped head with an exaggerated tripartite body on a flat base. Conversely, Type *F.I* has six examples, five of which are from the same site, namely Trapeza, with another one (upper half only) from Agia Triadha and one variety (*E.II*) from Myrtos. Type *F.I* are characterized by their polygonal heads, with flat tops and backs and angular faces with incised mouths. They have square torsos with angular, horizontal shoulders and elbows, and their arms are incised. Their legs are separated, have sharply incised knees and carved feet and their buttocks are indicated with square incisions. They are all made of bone and the example from Agia Triadha of ivory.

The remaining six types of schematic figurines are represented by few examples: Type D by two, both from Trapeza - characterised by their spade-shaped bodies with slanting, angular shoulders and rounded heads; Type *G.I* by three - two from Agios Onouphrios and one from Lebena. They are characterised by their broad, spade-shaped but rounded bodies which have a carved out V-shape at the base to

distinguish their two short legs. They have long necks surmounted by small, rounded heads. Type G.II is similar except for the absence of the V-shaped groove at the base to denote legs: instead there is a rounded-off base. Type G.III, represented by two examples from Lebena, have more rounded, smaller bodies with thin necks surmounted by long, oval heads.

Type H is represented by only one example, from Agios Onouphrios. It has a featureless and squarish head narrowing into the neck and merging into long, slanting shoulders. It has short, stumpy arm projections tapering into a short and levelled-off torso, also featureless. Type I, from Mallia with its small head and rounded-off body with short arm projections is notable for its painted lines on the back and its painted head stump - perhaps denoting a belt or other form of dress. Finally, Type K, represented by one example from Lendas, retains an unusually square or 'plank-shaped' body from which a short neck rises surmounted by a small and rounded-off spade-shaped head. These latter 'types' however, were obviously not as favoured as Types A, B, C and J.I - J.VII, and remain a minority.

The quite exceptional height of the figurine from Samba brings the question of the size of schematic figurines to the foreground (see Table 19). Whilst belonging to one of the more important type groups, type C, it stands apart from other examples by its measurements - 67.5cm. in height, 17cm. across the shoulders and 8.5cm. width across the base - which makes it the largest figurine to have been found in Crete from the Pre-palatial period. The average height of schematic figurines from this period, excluding the example from Samba, rests at only 8.17cms. and most figurines



fall well below this figure. The figurines from Koumasa and Pyrgos revealed a much higher average height of 14.65cm. and 15.43cm. respectively, followed by Lebena and Tekes with averages of 11.05cm. and 11.1cm. respectively for their figurines. One figurine from Pyrgos measured 35.5cm. (PYR1 of Type B) but this appears to be an unusual height. Thus the figurine from Samba is only slightly less than double the maximum height of the largest figurine known previously, making it a find of exceptional importance.

The naturalistic group comprise a far smaller number of figurines than schematic during the Pre-palatial period. From a total of one hundred and two figurines only twenty-four are what can be termed 'naturalistic' (approximately 23%) and of these five may be from the succeeding Proto-palatial period, as already mentioned. The most commonly found types are AA, BB, CC and GG.I & GG.II- all fairly evenly represented with a maximum of five examples from Type BB. Type AA, represented by three examples from Agia Triadha, one from Platanos and one from Kalathiana, are characterised by the figures' rectangular torsos with the arms (incised) shown as extending to the breasts. Their lower halves are bell-shaped with flat bases and backs, possibly denoting a bell-shaped dress extending to the ground. Their heads are rounded, and facial features are indicated to some degree - usually the eyes and mouths are incised. No. 32 from Platanos is further decorated with a V-shaped opening below the neck in front, and a double band round the base of the dress, although the head is missing. Type BB, with four examples from Koumasa and one from Gournes, is again representative of females only. Here the bell-



**TABLE 19**  
**SURVEY OF SCHEMATIC FIGURINE HEIGHTS**

[illegible]

shaped dresses are more pronounced with the waists made smaller and the collar of the dress extended to a peak at the back of the neck. This form of dress becomes very popular in the succeeding Proto-palatial period. The example from Gournes has traces of dark paint superimposed with white bands, particularly on the hat. The heads are again rounded with facial features incised except for the example from Gournes where the eyes and pupils are painted. Type CC, represented by three examples all from Koumasa, is characterized by the figurines' long featureless bodies, featureless and crude rounded heads and semi-seated position of the legs, which are very rounded and moulded separately. The arms extend outwards to the sides.

The other biggest group of naturalistic figurines are those belonging to Type GG.I and its variant GG.II. The figurines belonging to this type have cylindrical bodies extending straight down on to flat bases with short arm stumps projecting out sideways, in some cases at the level of the face (as at Palaikastro) - otherwise from the shoulders. They have small, rounded heads with flattened tops on which there is usually a rounded cap. No. TR14 from Trapeza is seated on a rounded stool with four short legs.

The remaining types, DD, EE, FF and HH are represented by only one or in the case of EE, just two examples. Type DD, from Koumasa, is missing below the chest but it is very characteristic of figurines found on peak sanctuaries from the succeeding period. Particularly noticable is the moulded head with a pinched out nose and the high thick collar extending round the back of the neck. We also see a new gesture: the arms are held

before the body and tilted slightly upwards (types AA and BB all showed one gesture: the arms held to the breasts). Type EE also shows a thick collar rising to a peak at the back of the neck and a bell-shaped dress extending to the ground. Here again the face is moulded in a fashion characteristic of the succeeding period with a pinched out nose leaving two circular eye depressions (probably formed by lightly pressing the wet clay with two fingers). The ridge of the nose runs into a pronounced chin, leaving a long neck below. Type FF - an apparently seated figure, takes this method of moulding the face one step further in that two small rounded pellets of clay are applied into the eye depressions. In addition the breasts are formed by applying two circular, but larger, pellets of clay onto the upper torso.



It is difficult to say whether these latter types, made of clay, are early examples of types which become very common in the Proto-palatial period, or isolated examples belonging to the latter period, and of very crude workmanship, that have found their way into these burial areas (namely at Koumasa), as part of the offerings accompanying the dead. Certainly, Koumasa and other tombs continued in use well into the Proto-palatial period.

The most commonly found types of figurines from the Pre-palatial period, however, are not those belonging to the Naturalistic group, but the Schematic group - comprising 77.5% of the total number found. The majority of these were found in burial contexts, with only five figurines coming from settlement sites, Myrtos, Mallia and Vasiliki, and these within very mixed deposits. Eleven figurines came from the burial cave of Trapeza, but of these

nearly half were of the same type, *F.I*, with the others belonging to types B, C and D. Type *J.I*, the biggest group, were found only in burial contexts with the exception of one very worn head from Myrtos.<sup>36</sup> We know from the Cyclades that this type of Folded Arm Figurine is most commonly located in burial contexts and provides us with a good parallel.<sup>37</sup>



## NOTES.

1. See concordance for correlation between figurine catalogue number in this thesis, museum catalogue number, and publication number (if latter exists). Here at Agia Triadha the museum catalogue number differs from the publication number.
2. This corresponds to No.126 (of Banti's publication) in the data base table on p.  Cf. Annuario 13-14, 189, fig.58d. 
3. This figurine had no catalogue number from the museum but corresponds to No.125 of Banti's publication in my data base table. ibid. fig. 58b.
4. Xanthoudides believed that this type from Porti represented 'a babe in swaddling clothes or an Egyptian mummy ...' VTM, 1906, 25.
5. Xanthoudides, S., A. Deltion 4, 1918, 162-163, pl.14. These figurines are much cruder in form and referred to by Renfrew (AJA 73, 1969, 5) and Branigan (BSA vol. 66, 1971, 59-60) as the 'Pebble Form'. Renfrew points out "that in many cases they may not be worked at all, being no more than specially selected pebbles". He recognised several in Antiparos from the Grotta - Pelos Culture, contemporary with Troy I. A third, which may be grouped with these two that I have placed in the Type B Schematic group may certainly be regarded as no more than a pebble with a very irregular surface. Because they may be specially selected pebbles their identification as a figurine, however schematic, remains somewhat doubtful in my mind - the cruder examples barely showing even a head. They do not adequately fulfill the minimum requirements for the identification of an anthropomorphic figurine as out-

lined in Chapter 2 (b).

6. Y. and E. Sakellarakis: 'Ανάσκαψη "Αρχαίων . PAE 1981, 441, 447, 448. Also published in AE 1983, 53, pl.28-13 by E. Sakellarakis. The figurines were found south of Room 4 and west of Room 3 in burial buildings 5 in 1981.
7. See note 5 above.
8. This figurine has only recently been published in AE 1983, 44, pl.23-29. Το ειδώλιο του Σάμπα και τα αμορφα λιθίνα ειδώλια της Πρωίμης εποχής του χαλκού στην κρήτη.
9. These two figurines correspond to the 'Troy Type' group identified and referred to by Renfrew. (AJA 1969, vol.73, 5) and Branigan, K. (BSA 1971, vol.66, 61-62) contemporary with the Grotta-Pelos culture in the Cyclades. Branigan distinguishes between the Troy I type from Trapeza and the Troy I type from Lebena. The Schematic Type D group here corresponds to the former.
10. That is, there are no recognisable human characteristics to denote posture or gesture.
11. Type G.I corresponds to the 'Agios Onouphrios Type' identified and referred to by Renfrew 1969, op.cit. 74 and Branigan 1971, op.cit. 65-66, fig. 1.4.
12. Type G.II corresponds to Branigan's (1971, op.cit. 65-66, Fig. 1.4) 'Agios Onouphrios Spade Type'.
13. Type G.III corresponds to Branigan's (1971 op.cit. 62) 'Troy I Lebena Type'.
14. Type J.I corresponds to Renfrew's 'Koumasa' type (1969 op.cit. 19)- also referred to by Branigan (1971, op.cit. 62).

Renfrew saw this type as indigenous to Crete alone, although related to the popular Folded Arm Figurine variety found in the Cyclades. This group from Crete however is generally smaller, broader in the shoulder and shorter in the leg.

They have thin, flat profiles and the head is not usually separated from the neck except by a light incision.

Furthermore the legs tend to run straight down to the feet without any indication of the knees and without flexing. All their additional bodily characteristics are incised and not modelled. Since most of this type comes from Koumasa they were named after this site.

15. No. *TK6* is a double figurine on a single base. Both the figurines are identical and hence it has been treated as a single object.
16. These three figurines from Lebena are mentioned by Renfrew (1969, op.cit. 2D), and are unpublished. One appears in ILN Aug. 6, 1960 from Tomb II but the other two, one from Tomb Ib and the other from Tomb III are unpublished.
17. Type *J.II* corresponds to Renfrew's 'Spade Type', Group 1VF (1969, op.cit., 20.21, fig. 3, pl.4). This type is more rounded with the head tilted more markedly backwards leaving a pronounced chin. The legs are slightly bent. This example is unusual for its depiction of a pregnant woman.
18. Type *J.IV* may correspond to Renfrew's Dokathismata variety. Branigan (1971, op.cit. 61), believes that it still shows a close affinity with the indigenous Koumasa Type (Type *J.I* here) which suggests that it was made in Crete.

Type *J.III* from Archanes, above, is more similar to this



- type but the arms and legs are separately modelled.
19. This is the only seated example we have from Crete - they are more commonly found in the Cyclades. It could be an import.
  20. Another head from Archanes (No. AR8) is similar to this head.
  21. These two figurines from Agia Triadha refer to Branigan's 'Siva Type'. I have classed them with the Folded Arm Figurine variety as I believe they are derivative of these types and closely associated.
  22. This corresponds to No. 131 (of Banti's publication) in the data base table p. cf. Annuario 13-14, 189, fig. 58m.
  23. Excavated in 1959 and 1960. E. Sakellarakis AE 1983, 49, ΓΑ 459, pl.A. The remaining two figurines ΓΑ460 and ΓΑ462 from this site, also made of stone, appear to be of the same type ("βοτταλόμορφα" - plank-shaped) though this cannot be confirmed with certainty due to lack of publication details and accompanying illustrations.
  24. No. 182 in data base table p. , and, as published in VTM 1924, 84, pl.viii.
  25. These figurines belonging to types CC, DD and EE may belong to the Proto-palatial period. They come from mixed burial strata in tombs which are known to have continued in use into the Proto-palatial period.
  26. I have identified this figurine as female as result of the high collar seen extending round the back of the neck - such dress is associated with female figurines only, most commonly in the Proto-palatial period.



27. ibid.
28. This is the only bronze figurine known from this period but may well belong to the succeeding period, though its very crude form resembles Type EE from this period more closely.
29. A.Zoes in PAE, 1976(1978), 445 states that it is not obvious whether the object is a baby (βρεφός) or a small one handled vase (πρόχους) for libations.
30. See note 22 above concerning the questionable date of five clay figurines from Koumasa and one bronze from Archanes.
31. See chapter 2(b) of Section I for definitions of these terms.
32. This figure would be slightly higher if the clay figurines of the Naturalistic Types CC, DD and EE, were regarded as belonging to the Proto-palatial period.
33. No. 179 from Trapeza being the exception perhaps.
34. These pointed chins were likened to beards by Evans and used to emphasize Libyan and Pre-Dynastic Egyptian influence on their styles (cf. Evans PMII, 45, 48 and PMIV, 986). That such figurines existed in Egypt and Libya is indisputable (W. M. Flinders-Petrie and J.E. Quibell, Nagada, 1896, 45, pl. LIX 1757, 132 and 271: Man., 1902, 17) but there are major differences between these and the figurines cited here in this thesis - not least one of sex - at Nagada they are mainly female whereas here we are unable to distinguish their sex. In addition and more important is the fact that there are major chronological discrepancies.
35. See notes 30-31 above and Renfrew, C., 1973, op.cit.

36. A fragment of the torso of a figurine of Type J.I was found in the cave of Platyvola in the west of Crete (Branigan, 1971, op.cit., 63): A.Deltion 22.B2 (1967) pl.378b) - this cave contained burials also.
37. See Doumas, C., 1977, op.cit.; Renfrew, 1972, op.cit.  
Also Chapter 1 of this thesis.

## Chapter 9. The-Proto-palatial Period

### 1. Schematic Figurines

#### TYPE A2<sup>1</sup> (Nos. 86, 87)

No. 86 (Fig. 31a)

From Petsopha. Agios Nikolaos Museum<sup>2</sup> - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: small cylindrical head with flattened top and narrowing slightly into long neck. No facial features. Convex back of head giving slight tilted back effect.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular body with long steeply slanting shoulders and narrowing to point at base.

Slightly convex back and thin profile.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, orange-buff; 3.7cm. ht.

No. 87 (Fig. 31b)

From Petsopha. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

As above except that head is slightly shortened and neck lower and slightly thicker.

Clay; orange-buff, traces of white paint; 3.4cm. ht.

#### TYPE B2<sup>3</sup> (No. 88)

No. 88 (Fig. 31)

From Petsopha. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 10554

Female

Posture: Type 5(b)

**Gesture: Type 3(d)**

**Head:** triangular, with chipped off top and rounded. Slightly convex back of head. No facial features.

**Torso and Lower Half:** (one arm missing). Projecting horizontal shoulders and triangular arms. Torso curving inwards on both sides for waist and enlarging to rounded-off spade-shaped lower body. Two small irregular pellets of clay for breasts. Thin profile, tapering at base.

**Dress:** - (no indications)

Clay, dull buff, traces of whitish-grey paint; 4.4cm. ht.

TYPE C2<sup>4</sup> (No. 206)

No. 206 (Fig. 31)

From Mallia, Quartier Mu. French School Apotheke No. M67/F.7

Unknown Sex

**Posture:** - (head extant only)

**Gesture:** - (head extant only)

**Head:** rounded spade-shape inclining back with convex front and concave back and merging into neck. No facial features.  
Half of neck missing.

**Dress:** -

Stone; 3.9cm. ht.

TYPE D2 (No. 207)

No. 207 (Fig. 32)

From Mallia, Quartier Mu. French School Apotheke No. M67/F.5

Unknown Sex



Posture: - (no indications)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded oval with flattened top and convex front and back -  
merging into low neck. No facial features.

Torso and Lower Half: square, with flat base and short slanting  
shoulders. Smaller than head. No features.

Dress: - (no indications)

Limestone; 2.6cm. ht.

TYPE E2.I<sup>5</sup> (No. 209)

No. 209 (Fig. 32)

From Mallia, Quartier Mu. French School Apotheke. No. M67/F.4

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded oval with convex front and inclining straight back of  
head giving 'tilted back' effect and pronounced, rounded-off  
chin. Low thick neck. No facial features.

Torso and Lower Half: slightly slanting angular shoulders with spade-  
shaped body. No features.

Dress: - (no indications)

Limestone; 5.8cm. ht.

TYPE E2.II (No. 210)

No. 210 (Fig. 32)

From Mallia, Quartier Mu. French School Apotheke No. M67/F.2

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded oval with flat back and convex front. No facial features. Chin protrusion and distinct neck.

Torso and Lower Half: spade-shaped, but longer more slanting shoulders and slightly flattened base. Flat back with convex front.

Dress: - (no indications)

Limestone; 5.8cm. ht.

TYPE F2<sup>6</sup> (No. 211)

No. 211 (Fig. 33)

From Mallia, Quartier Mu. French School Apotheke No. M67/F.3

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded, with top right hand corner broken off. Convex front and back with protruding chin and low thick neck. No facial features.

Torso and Lower Half: lozenge-shape with longer lower sides tapering to rounded-off point and long slanting shoulders.

Dress: - (no indications)

Limestone; 7.1cm. ht.

TYPE G2<sup>7</sup> (No. 212)

No. 212 (Fig. 34)

From Mallia, Quartier Mu. French School Apotheke. No. M67/FL

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (no indications)

**Gesture:** - (no indications)

**Head:** squarish head with rounded edges and flattened top. Low, thick neck. No facial features.

**Torso and Lower Half:** trapezoidal body with short, slanting, angular shoulders and flat base.

**Dress:** - (no indications)

**Marble;** 13.8cm. ht.

### Schematic Figurines

The Proto-palatial period sees the gradual disappearance of schematic figurines from its range of types with a total of nine figurines being identified as such from the total number studied. Except for Type A2 the other seven types are represented by only one example and six come from the same deposit at Quartier Mu. Most of the types have corresponding examples from the preceding period.

Type A2, represented by two examples from Petsopha,<sup>79</sup> may be paralleled with the Schematic Type B group from the Pre-palatial period. There are three differences; notably the longer neck, more square head and more slanting shoulders. The overall form, however, is very similar with its tapering and featureless body narrowing to a rounded-off point and with rounded shoulders. Notable, is the fact that figurines of Type A2 from Petsopha are made of clay whereas not one example from the Schematic Type B was found in this medium: all were carved from stone (this included limestone, alabaster and marble). The earliest pottery from Petsopha has been dated to EMIII so it is possible that these figurines belong to the Pre-palatial period. They are nevertheless imitations of a type more

commonly associated with tombs.

Type B2, represented by one example from Petsopha, may be paralleled with an example from the Schematic Type I group - with one example from Mallia. Both are characterised by their horizontal shoulders and projecting arm stumps, with the torso curving in on both sides at the waist and enlarging to a rounded-off, spade-shaped lower body. Type B2 of the Proto-palatial period from Petsopha, however, has two small circular pellets of clay applied to denote breasts whereas the example from Mallia of Type I does not, but has painted lines on the body. Again it is possible that the example from Petsopha belongs to the Pre-palatial period (the end of EMIII) though this cannot be ascertained with any certainty.<sup>80</sup>

The six types from Mallia, represented by one example each, are from a more certain Proto-palatial deposit but again three have parallels with examples from the preceding period. Type C2 for instance, a very worn head, clearly belongs to the Schematic Type JJ group associated with the Folded Arm Figurine Variety. More particularly it resembles an example from Myrtos, made of clay belonging to this group. Both show featureless spade-shaped heads inclining backwards with convex fronts merging into the neck. Type E2I with its slightly slanting, angular shoulders and spade-shaped body surmounted by a rounded oval head shows great similarity to the Schematic Type D group of the Pre-palatial period, represented by two examples from Trapeza. The main difference between the two types is the head - the example from Mallia of Type E2I has a larger head that inclines backwards slightly leaving a pronounced chin. Type F2 may be paralleled with the Schematic Type GII' group though it has more of a lozenge-shaped body and a lower and thicker



neck.

The parallels with the preceding period are not only important for identifying a continuation or imitation of types from one period to the next, but in identifying the different contexts in which they were found. Types A2 and B2 of the Proto-palatial period are located on peak sanctuaries and Types C2-G2 from a settlement deposit which we have identified as having religious associations (see Chapter 6). Corresponding types from the Pre-palatial period however, come from tomb or burial contexts, with the exception of the head from Myrtos and one other example from Mallia.

It was seen in Chapter 8 that schematic figurines predominated in the Pre-palatial period. The Proto-palatial period reveals a dramatic drop in the number of these figurines, particularly when compared to the great quantity of naturalistic figurines that now appear. Whilst it remains true that many figurines remain unseen and/or undiscovered, it is very doubtful whether the schematic types existed in any great number after the end of the Pre-palatial period. If they had done, they would almost certainly have constituted a greater proportion of those figurines that have been studied and/or are known to date from this period. Instead they are more likely to represent the remains of a tradition of types that began to die out when faced with an increasing influx of totally new ideas in shapes and forms.

TABLE 20  
LOCATION +

SCHEMATIC TYPES FOR THE PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD AND THE PRE-PALATIAL PARALLELS

	A2	B2	C2	D2	E2I	E2II	F2	G2	
MALLIA			1	1	1	1	1	1	
PETSOPHA	2	1							
TOTALS	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9
	↑	↑	↑		↑		↑		
PRE-PALATIAL PARALLEL TYPES	B	I	JT		D		GII		

### Naturalistic Figurines

The naturalistic figurines from the Proto-palatial period constitute the greatest number of figurines and the greatest variety of types that will be discussed in this thesis. They are discussed in order of their sexes, firstly as an organisational tool and secondly because gender assumes a far more prominent role than before. Most of the figurines within the Schematic and Naturalistic type groups of the Pre-palatial period have been either female or of unknown sex. Where a male figurine appeared it did not reveal a different form from that of its female counterpart: for instance the Schematic type J.I group of the Pre-Palatial period had seventeen female examples and one male. The latter however was no different in 'form' from the female except for the addition of a carved penis.

During the Proto-palatial period, however, whilst some overlap does exist, male, female, hermaphrodite and unknown genders comprise distinct groups with their own types and related attributes.

## 2. Naturalistic Figurines<sup>8</sup>

### MALES

#### TYPE AA2.I (No. J1)

No. J1 (Fig. 35)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)<sup>9</sup>

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 8(c)

Head: rounded head with nose pinched out to small beak. Two large disc-shaped eyes applied. Slight incision for mouth. Two small strips of clay, slightly moulded for ears.

Torso: rounded shoulders and arms - latter looped round over chest. Narrow, straight-sided torso revealed beneath arms.

Lower Half: waist runs straight down into legs. Legs two oblong sticks set apart with small oblong strip applied to indicate penis; i.e. representing naked body.

Dress: - none

Clay.

#### TYPE AA2.II (Nos. 37, 43, 156, J2)

No. 37<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 66b)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum No. 21912

Male

Posture: - (legs missing but probably Type 1)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: rounded oval, with nose pinched out (very worn) leaving two eye depressions inset with two small, circular clay pellets



for eyes. Featureless top and back of head. Head merges into fairly long neck and slightly tilted back.

Torso: long, rectangular straight-sided torso with long, slanting shoulders and projecting arm stumps (where arms are broken off). Featureless.

Lower Half: broken off below upper thigh but revealing most of codpiece/penis.

Dress: - (but traces of red paint all over body, especially over back of shoulders and down sides).

Clay, pinkish-buff, self slip; 7 cm. ht.

No. 43<sup>11</sup> (Pl. 36)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14171

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 3(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, rectangular, straight-sided torso with near horizontal shoulders. Flat back and convex featureless front.

Lower Half: legs running straight down from waist and placed slightly apart. Long oblong codpiece/penis.

Flat back and convex front.

Dress: -

Clay, light orange; 6.15 cm. ht.

No. 156<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 66c)

From Traostalos. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv. number)

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 3(d) (but perhaps broken off)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, featureless body with slightly incurving sides for waist. Near horizontal shoulders. Featureless. Convex back and front.

Lower Half: missing except for left thigh and most of codpiece.

Legs apparently running straight down from waist.

Dress: - (but traces of dark red/brown paint all over body)

Clay, dark buff, self slip, soft; 6.1cm. ht.

No. J2<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 66a)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Male

Posture: - missing

Gesture: Type 4(c)

Head: triangular with pinched out nose to sharp long ridge, leaving two eye depressions with large, disc-shaped clay applied eyes.

Two triangular, applied clay ears. Low thick neck.

Torso: long, featureless torso with slightly incurving sides for waist and arms curved round to front of body.

Lower Half: missing except for long oblong codpiece/penis.

Dress: -

Clay; 4.6cm. ht.

TYPE AA2.III (Nos. 89, 90, 91, 230)

No. 230<sup>14</sup> (Pl. 37)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum - (no inv.number)

Male

Posture: - (legs missing but probably Type 1)

Gesture: Type 2(g) (but one arm missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, featureless torso with narrow waist and rounded hips and buttocks giving S-shaped flanks.

Lower Half: missing except for right thigh and long oval cod-piece/penis.

Dress: - (but traces of dark brown to black paint all over).

Clay, pale orange, soft; 4.4cm. ht.

No. 89 (Pl.38 )

From Petsopha. Ashmolean Museum No. AE1010

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 2(c) (but one arm broken off)

Head: rounded oval, narrowing at chin. Nose pinched out leaving two eye indentations and mouth is flattened. Head inclining slightly backwards and resting on thick, long neck.

Torso: long, featureless torso with incurving sides at waist.

Long, slightly slanting, rounded shoulders with a more angular elbow. Featureless hand except thumb distinguished.

Lower Half: (missing below knees) legs running straight down from waist with rounded hips and buttocks. Long, oval cod-piece/penis.

Dress: - (but traces of dark brown to black paint all over).

Clay, pale buff; 13cm. ht.

No. 90 (Pl. 39)

From Petsopha. Ashmolean Museum No. AE999

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: Type 2(g)

Head: - (missing - but hole in neck where head tenon was inserted).

Torso: long, featureless torso with broad, horizontal but rounded shoulders and elbows. Sides curve in slightly at waist. Convex front and back.

Lower Half: (missing below thighs) legs once ran straight down from waist. Remains of rounded hips and rounded, protruding buttocks which are moulded. Long, oval codpiece/penis.

Dress: none

Clay, pale orange-buff, gritty; 6.8cm. ht.

No. 91 (Pl. 40)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 3413

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 2(c)

Head: rounded, with flattened top. Eyes, nose and chin very worn and smoothed over projections. Two small applied pellet clay ears. Head resting on long, thick neck, and tilted slightly back.

Torso: long, featureless torso with horizontal shoulders and fore-arms tucked under with hands touching sides of chest. Rounded elbows. Torso curving in at waist.

Lower Half: legs running straight down from waist with rounded hips and buttocks. Legs moulded separately. Crude triangular feet resting on rounded base. Long, oblong codpiece/penis.

Dress: none



Clay, pale orange-buff; 16cm ht.

TYPE AA2.IV(Nos. 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 157, 158)

No. 107 (Pl. 41)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9753

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: oval, with pinched out nose and chin leaving two large eye depressions with two small pellets of clay inserted into them. Chin well modelled and two pellets of clay applied for ears. Long, thin neck.

Torso: (lower half missing) broad, gently sloping shoulders and thick, rounded upper arms and chest.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications but traces of red paint)

Clay, orange-pink, grey core, coarse and gritty; 7.2cm. ext. ht.

No. 108 (Pl. 42, Fig. 36)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9756

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: - (left arm missing below elbow and right arm missing below shoulder) probably Type 7

Head: - missing

Torso: long torso with incurving sides at waist and horizontal shoulders. Well modelled torso with slight evidence of pectoral muscles. Torso enlarging at base for hips.

Lower Half: (missing below abdomen). Upper half of oval codpiece/

penis in evidence.

Dress: none (but traces of orangy-brown paint all over.

Clay, pale buff, yellowish-buff slip, hard and gritty, multicoloured flecks; 8.3cm. ht.

No. 109 (Pl. 43)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9757

Male<sup>15</sup>

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: Type 8(b)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long torso with incurving sides at waist and broad, horizontal shoulders. Rounded arms and elbows with no indications of hands. Convex front and back and well modelled - beginning to enlarge at hips.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications - but traces of orangy-red paint)

Clay, pale buff with yellowish tinge, self slip, hard and gritty, multicoloured flecks; 7.6cm. ht.

No. 110 (Pl. 44)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9758

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: (left arm missing) probably Type 8(b) as above.

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, with narrow and incurving sides at waist and broad, near-horizontal shoulders. Well rounded shoulders, arms and elbows. Convex front and back. Well modelled with slight indications of pectoral muscles.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Clay, pale buff with pinkish-orange tinge, self slip, hard  
and gritty, multicoloured flecks; 6.5cm. ht.

No. 111 (Pl. 45)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9759

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: (right arm missing) Probably Type 8

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, featureless torso with incurving sides at waist  
and long, broad, horizontal shoulders. Rounded, thin  
arms looped across chest. Convex front and back.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, orange-buff, self slip; 5.6cm. ext. ht.

No. 112 (Pl. 46)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9842

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: - (torso missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: - (missing)

Lower Half: well modelled, thick legs with rounded hips and  
buttocks; and hollowed in waist. (Feet missing.)  
Slight indication of knees by moulding and lower  
half of oval codpiece, applied. Legs narrow slightly  
at knees and ankles.

Dress: - none (but traces of reddish-brown paint all over)

Clay, orange-buff, coarse and gritty, coloured flecks;

10.4cm. ext. ht.

No. 157<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 67b)

From Traostalos. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv.number)

Male

Posture: - (legs broken off below thighs) possibly Type 2(b)

Gesture: - (arms missing from shoulder)

Head: missing above neck.

Torso: long, straight-sided torso enlarging at hips. Irregular, slanting shoulders. Well modelled torso with slight indication of ribs(?)

Lower Half: (missing below thigh). Rounded, flaring hips and rounded, protruding buttocks clearly indicated.

Large, elongated penis/codpiece.

Dress: -

Clay, orange-buff, coarse and gritty, coloured flecks; 10.0cm.  
ext. ht.

No. 158<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 67a)

From Traostalos. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv.number)

Male

Posture: Type 1 (legs missing below knees)

Gesture: - (torso missing)

Head and Torso: - (missing)

Lower Half: well modelled legs with rounded hips, thighs and buttocks. Codpiece largely broken off. Legs moulded together. Narrow waist.

Dress: -

Clay, dull buff with pinkish tinge, grey core, coarse and gritty,  
6.9cm. ext. ht.



TYPE AA2.V (Nos. 76, 231)

No. 76 (Pl. 42, Fig. 37)

From Maza. Herakleion Museum No. 9849

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, featureless straight-sided torso with gently sloping shoulders. Slight flaring at hips.

Lower Half: legs running straight down from hips and placed slightly apart. Featureless legs but clearly indicated moulded buttocks. Oval codpiece applied (with lower half broken off). Feet missing.

Dress: -

Clay, pale reddish-buff, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks; 12.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 231 (Pl. 48, Fig. 68)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum No. 2927

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 11(b) (but one arm missing)

Head: rounded, very worn head with slight incision for mouth and moulded, slightly pointed chin. Other facial features very worn. Thick neck.

Torso: long, featureless torso with slight incurving at waist and flaring at hips. Flat back and front.

Lower Half: legs running straight down from hips and slightly apart. (Right leg missing below thigh and left

below knee.) Buttocks indicated by moulding but now very worn and flattened. Codpiece largely broken off.

Dress: -

Clay, orange-buff, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks;

13.6cm. ext. ht.

TYPE BB2 (No. 35)

No. 35 (Pl. 49, Fig. 37)

From Porti. Herakleion Museum No. 171

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 2(f)

Head: round with incised eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth and carved 'crescent' ears. Thick neck. Flat back of head and flattened top with incised line down centre and dot either side.

Torso: squarish, narrowing at waist. Horizontal, angular shoulders, and elbows. Arms carved and with clenched fists - fingers incised. Flat back with hole in centre of shoulder blades.

Lower Half: legs running down from waist with slightly enlarged thighs. Toes incised but otherwise featureless legs.

Flat back with hole at base of spine.

Dress: belt round waist rising to upside-down V in centre of waist and oval codpiece attached.

Steatite; 5.3cm. ht.

TYPE CC2.I (Nos. 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 92)

No. 44 (Pl. 50, Fig. 38)

From Kophinas.<sup>18</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 14158

Male

Posture: (legs missing apart from right thigh) - possibly Type 2

Gesture: (arms missing) - possibly Type 3(a)

Head: - (missing above neck)

Torso: squarish-with horizontal shoulders and straight sides  
interrupted by belt. Featureless.

Lower Half: (missing legs). Rounded, clearly indicated buttocks.

Legs once running straight down from waist.

Dress: thick belt round waist going into V-shape at back  
above buttocks. Codpiece attached in front.

Clay, yellowish-buff, coarse and gritty, brown and grey flecks,  
7.8cm. ht.

No. 45 (Pl.51)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14169

Male

Posture: Type 2 (missing below knees)

Gesture: Type 4(c) (right arm missing and left below elbow)

Head: - (missing above neck)

Torso: squarish, with horizontal shoulders and straight sides  
interrupted by belt. Featureless.

Lower Half: legs running straight down from waist and placed  
slightly apart.

Dress: thick, uneven belt round waist, thicker at back and with  
long codpiece attached.

Clay, dull orange, grey core, coarse and gritty; 8.3cm. ht.

No. 46 (Pl. 52)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14170

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 8(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: squarish-with slight incurving at sides for waist.

Sloping shoulders and well moulded arms though hands not indicated. Otherwise featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: thick, irregular belt going round waist and dropping down on right side of body.

Clay, orange, pale orange slip, coarse and gritty; 5.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 47 (Pl. 53)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14205

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: squarish, with outward extension where arms once were.

Horizontal shoulders and straight-sided waist interrupted by belt. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing) but thickening below belt.

Dress: thick belt round waist with oval codpiece attached and rounded band encircling neck.

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty, brown and grey flecks;

5.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 48 (Pl. 54)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14241

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)



Gesture: - (arms missing but one shoulder sloping downwards  
and the other extending out in front of body)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with straight sides interrupted by belt.

Flat back and front with slight outward extension below  
belt. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: thick belt round waist tying on right hand side.

Clay, dull orange-buff, coarse and gritty, traces of black paint;  
4.8cm. ext. ht.

No. 49 (Pl. 55)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14247

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: - (arm missing) possibly 3(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with short slanting shoulders and straight-  
sided waist interrupted by belt. Featureless. Flat back  
and slightly convex front.

Lower Half: (right leg missing) Left leg running straight down,  
from belt extending outwards. Featureless. Rounded  
buttocks and codpiece.

Dress: thick belt round waist with codpiece attached.

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty, brown and grey flecks;  
7.7cm. ht.

No. 50

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14249

Male

Posture: (lower half missing)

Gesture: (arms missing but left shoulder extending horizontally  
and the right sloping downwards)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with straight sides interrupted by belt.

Flat front and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: (legs missing) thickening below belt with rounded  
codpiece.

Dress: thick belt round waist with codpiece attached.

Clay, dark orange, grey core, coarse and gritty, traces of  
blackish-brown paint; 6.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 92 (Pl. 56)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 9854

Male

Posture: Type 4(a)

Gesture: (one arm missing) probably Type 2(b)<sup>19</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with horizontal shoulders and slight incurving  
for waist. Flat front and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: thin, featureless legs bent at knees and seated on  
four-legged stool. Legs placed apart with two oblong  
feet on ground. Rounded buttocks resting on stool.

Dress: belt round waist with codpiece attached.

Clay, pinkish-buff, self slip; 6.7cm. ht., stool 1.8 cm. ht.

Type CC2.II (Nos. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 77)

No. 51 (Pl. 57)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14157

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: (arms largely missing) probably Type 3(a)

Head:- (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular with horizontal shoulders. Slightly twisted torso narrowing slightly towards waist and inclining backwards. Featureless.

Lower Half: (legs missing) rounded hips and buttocks - latter clearly indicated.

Dress: thick belt with small V-shape in centre front. Attached loincloth running from front to back.

Clay, pale orange-buff with pinkish tinge, coarse and gritty, grey and brown flecks; 6.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 52 (Pl. 58)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14174

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (left arm missing and most of right)

Head: rounded, with moulded chin. Remains of one small clay pellet for eye. Long thin neck.

Torso: long and rectangular with horizontal shoulders and narrowing down towards waist. Flat back and front. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: thick belt going into downward V at front. Pudding basin hat with slight protrusion at back.

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks, traces of black paint; 8.7cm. ext. ht.

No. 53 (Pl. 59)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14204

**Male**

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular with long, slanting shoulders and  
narrowing down towards waist. Flat back and front.

Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: very wide but thin belt round waist with downward V at  
back - codpiece broken off.

Clay, dark orange, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks,  
surface blackened; 8.3cm. ext. ht.

No. 54 (Pl. 60)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14243

**Male**

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing except for half of upper left arm)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular with long, slanting shoulders and  
narrowing down towards waist. Flat back and front.

Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: very wide but thin belt round waist.

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks, surface  
blackened ; 9cm. ext. ht.

No. 55 (Pl. 61, Fig. 38)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14245

**Male**



Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing but shoulders curving round to front)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with long, sloping shoulders. Torso has straight sides narrowing down towards waist and interrupted by belt. Flat back with slightly convex front. Featureless.

Lower Half: (legs missing) thickening below belt with codpiece projecting outwards.

Dress: thick and wide belt round waist with large codpiece attached, though most of lower part broken off.

Clay, orange-buff, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks;

7.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 56 (Pl. 62)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14251

Male

Posture: (right leg missing and left leg missing from just above knee) probably Type 1

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with near horizontal shoulders and straight sides narrowing down towards waist - interrupted by belt. Pectoral muscles slightly indicated and slight spine indentation right down back.

Lower Half: (mostly missing) rounded, clearly moulded buttocks.

Legs run straight down from waist but probably moulded separately.

Dress: thick and wide belt round waist with long oval codpiece (with rounded top) attached and V-shaped strip just below

belt at rear.

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks; 9.2cm. ext. ht.

No. 57 (Pl. 63)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14253

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with sides slightly narrowing to waist, slightly incurving back, flattened. Large spade cut out of centre front of torso and pointing downwards.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: flat but very wide belt round waist.

Clay, bright orange, coarse and gritty, grey and brown flecks;

5.6cm. ext. ht.

No. 77 (Pl. 64)

From Maza. Herakleion Museum No. 9857

Male

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture; Type 2(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with very slightly incurving sides. Well-shaped, rounded shoulders with flattened forearms pressed against chest and featureless. Flattened back and front. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: remnants of thick, rounded belt in front projecting out in centre as if for beginnings of codpiece(?)

Clay, orange-buff, soft; 3cm. ext. ht.

One more figurine may be added to this type group, also from Kophinas. This figurine was not studied by the author but can be found in a preliminary publication.<sup>20</sup> The head, arms, left leg below the thigh and right leg below the knee are missing. Its torso is rectangular, narrowing down towards the waist with fairly flat and featureless front and back. It wears a thick and wide belt round the waist, which ties at the centre front. There is no codpiece in evidence but it is quite likely that it has broken off. The legs appear to be fairly rounded.

TYPE CC2.III (No. 151)

No. 151<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 39)

From Prinias. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 5972

Male(?)<sup>22</sup>

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left arm and right forearm missing) probably Type 2(b)

Head: egg-shaped, with long, pinched out nose leaving two large eye indentations. Two attached and moulded strips for ears, moulded chin protruding. Head tilted back. Long, thin neck.

Torso: triangular, with narrow waist and long slanting shoulders.

Flat front and slightly incurving back. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing but joined with tenon)

Dress: - (missing) flat, circular hat rising up from forehead.

Clay, pale orange-buff, coarse and gritty, traces of reddish-brown paint; 10.2cm. ext. ht.

TYPE DD2.I (Nos. 38, 58, 93, 94, MAL2, J3)

No. 38<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 69)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum No. 21907

Male<sup>24</sup>

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (forearms missing) Type 12<sup>25</sup>

Head: rounded, with long pinched out nose leaving two large eye indentations. Two rounded pieces of clay applied for ears. Long, thin neck.

Torso: squarish, with long, slanting shoulders and evidently narrowing down towards waist. Arms and upper torso well modelled with indications of muscles.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - small, round cap on top of head with short tassle at back.

Clay, yellow-buff, self-slip, soft; 4.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 58 (Pl. 65)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14140

Male<sup>26</sup>

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: rounded, with long pinched out square snout leaving two shallow eye indentations. Two dots painted for eyes.

Two oblong strips applied for ears. Long, thin neck.

Torso: squarish, with long, slanting shoulders and evidently narrowing towards waist. Flat front and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - Two large circular discs on top and back of head.



Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of black paint, soft;

5.2cm. ext. ht.

No. 93 (Pl. 66, Fig. 40)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 3407

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 2(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: squarish, with long, slanting shoulders. Upper arms rounded with pointed, angular elbows and straight forearms. Fists clenched. Flat back and front narrowing towards waist. Featureless.

Lower Half: long rounded legs, slightly flexed with knees indicated by incurving of legs. Rounded thighs and protruding, rounded buttocks. Legs curve in again at ankles with long, triangular feet attached - resting on small circular base.

Dress: large, triangular dagger with two small clay pellets at centre and one on handle, and tassel hanging down from centre - all attached to waist. White painted codpiece and kilt - latter covering front and back. Shin high white painted boots. Rest of body painted dark reddish-brown.

Clay, reddish-buff, traces of reddish-brown paint, surface blackened; 12.5cm. ht.

No. 94 (Pl. 67)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 3405

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 2(a)

Head: rounded, with thick and worn pinched out nose, and moulded chin. Two circular and moulded clay ears applied. Thick, long neck.

Torso: squarish, with long, horizontal shoulders. Rounded upper arms with pointed, angular elbows, straight forearms and clenched fists. Flat back and front narrowing towards waist. Featureless.

Lower Half: long, rounded legs flexed at knees leaving gap between legs. Rounded thighs and rounded, protruding buttocks. Knees indicated by incurving of legs. Legs narrow and curving in again for ankles with long, triangular feet attached - resting on small circular base.

Dress: large, triangular dagger, two discs at centre and large round pellet on handle. Tassle hanging down from centre of dagger. Long, oval codpiece attached. Two flat discs on top and back of head.

Clay, pale pinkish-buff, self-slip; 17cm. ht.

MAL 2

From Mallia.<sup>27</sup> French School Apotheke - (no inv.number)

Male (?)

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (right arm missing) Probably Type 2(a)

Head: rounded and featureless on short neck.

Torso: rectangular, with long, slanting shoulders. Rounded arms and elbows curved round to chest. Flat front and back.

**Featureless.**

**Lower Half: - (missing)**

**Dress: -**

**Clay, red, traces of grey glaze, dark brown paint; 5.0cm. ext. ht.**

A further figurine, No. J3, may be added to this type group from Juktas. This figurine was not personally studied by the author but has been published.<sup>28</sup> The head and forearms are missing, but its gesture may be estimated as belonging to Type 2(a) or (b) (the elbows are curved round in this direction). It has a squarish, featureless torso and wears a kilt with an irregular edge and various 'hangings' in the front. It apparently once stood upright with legs slightly apart at the top. By comparison to the other examples of this type it would appear to be male and is made of clay.<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 69.)

**TYPE DD2.II (Nos. 95, AK1)**

**No. 95 (Pl. 58, Fig. 40)**

**From Petsopha.** Herakleion Museum No. 3494

**Male**

**Posture: (knees and below missing but restored) Type 1**

**Gesture: (right arm missing) Type 5(a)(1)**

**Head: rounded, with pinched out nose and two circular eye indentations and moulded chin. Two circular and moulded clay ears applied. Long, thin neck.**

**Torso: square, with horizontal shoulders and straight sides interrupted by belt. Long, rounded, featureless left arm narrowing to point for hand. Flat front and back. Featureless.**

**Dress: thick belt round waist tying on right hand side of torso**

with knot hanging down. Short kilt covering front and back with long, phallic protrusion moulded at front of kilt. All attached. Small flat disc on top of head.

Clay, orange-buff, traces of self slip; 23cm. ht.

AK1 (Fig. 70)

A figurine from the tomb of Agios Kyrillos in the Mesara may also be added to the DD2.II type group. It stands upright with knees slightly flexed, however, and both arms are held to the chest symmetrically. The head and the shape of the torso and lower half remain the same, however, and a kilt is worn in relief.

TYPE EE2 (Nos. 39, 160)

No. 39 (Fig. 41)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum No. 21273

Male

Posture: (legs missing below thighs, left slightly longer)

probably Type 1

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: - (missing) remnants of narrow waist.

Lower Half: (waist to thighs extant only). Well moulded and rounded hips and thighs coming down from narrow waist.

Dress: thick but narrow belt round waist with two thick tassles hanging on right side. Short kilt with irregular edge and exposing lower half of oval codpiece.

Clay, pale yellowish-buff with orange tinge, coarse and gritty;  
7.4cm. ext. ht.



No. 160 (Fig. 71)

From Traostalos.<sup>30</sup> Agios Nikolaos Museum (no inv.number)

Male

Posture: (knees and below missing) probably Type 1

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: - (missing)

Lower Half: well moulded thighs and buttocks.

Dress: long, oblong codpiece applied. Short kilt covering  
buttocks behind, and descending into U shape.

Clay, pale orange-buff, pinkish-grey core, coarse and gritty;

5.8cm. ext. ht.

TYPE FF2 (No. 59)

No. 59 (Pl. 70, Fig. 41)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14261

Male

Posture: (left leg missing below knee and right leg missing below  
thigh) probably Type 2(b)

Gesture: (right forearm missing and all left arm) right arm  
curved round to chest.

Head: - (missing)

Torso: squarish, with slightly incurving sides at waist. Flat front  
and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: rounded, moulded legs with left leg curved forwards.

Dress: thick, narrow belt round waist with wide, short strip  
attached to front and double tassle hanging down from it  
on right.

Clay, pale orange-buff, hard; 3.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE GG2 (Nos. 60, 161)

No. 60 (Fig. 42)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14264

Male

Posture: (right leg missing) probably Type 1

Gesture: (right arm missing) probably Type 2(g)<sup>31</sup>

Head: square, with convex crown and narrowing slightly for neck.

Running straight down into neck and shoulders without a diversion. Long pinched out nose with flattened ridge, leaving two large eye indentations. Two holes pierced into clay for eyes. Two long, oblong strips of clay vertically placed for ears. Six flattened strips of clay on top of head converging to point on forehead (denoting hair perhaps), plus six others at back of head.

Torso: rectangular with straight sides, slightly narrowing for waist. Steeply slanting shoulders with arms looped round and hands formed by flattening of clay strip. Flat front and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: rounded, 'bandy' left leg and rounded hips.

Dress: thick, irregular belt round waist with remnants of lower codpiece. All attached.

Clay, pale orange-buff, coarse and gritty, multicoloured flecks, traces of reddish-brown paint; 16cm. ext. ht.

No. 161 (Fig. 72)

From Traostalos.<sup>32</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 16475

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 2(a)

Head: egg-shaped, with pinched out nose leaving two eye indentations and two holes pierced in their centres for eyes. Rounded, projecting chin and head slightly tilting back. Long, thick neck running straight down from head.

Torso: rectangular, with long, horizontal, angular shoulders and elbows. Forearms curve round to chest with no hands. Straight sides interrupted by belt. Thin profile with flat back and front widening towards waist. Featureless.

Lower Half: hips project outwards slightly from belt and legs then run straight down. Legs are rounded, set apart and have no feet - rounded off stubs.

Dress: thick belt round waist with loincloth going from front to back.

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of reddish-brown and black paint; 13.7cm. ext. ht.

TYPE HH2 (No. 114)

No. 114 (Pl. 71, Fig. 43)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9825

Male

Posture: (feet missing) Type 1

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: - (missing)

Lower Half: rounded hips broadening outwards from narrow waist, and tapering downwards to knees. Knees, shins, calves and ankles carefully modelled, with gap between knees and ankles. Shin bone and knee joints indicated.

Buttocks well rounded and modelled.

Dress: covered codpiece with long apron covering front and back in two flaps - to just above knees.

Clay, pale buff, hard and gritty, grey and black flecks, traces of orangy-red paint; 14.7cm. ext. ht.

### TYPE II2

No. 96 (Pl. 76, Fig. 44)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 4873

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: rounded, with pinched out nose leaving two shallow indentations. Moulded chin. Two circular clay pellets applied for ears. Two white circles painted in for eyes and mouth painted white. Bare, bald head.

Torso: squarish, with short gently sloping shoulders. Slightly narrowing at waist. Flat front and slightly concave back.

Lower Half: (legs missing) broadening hips below waist-line with rounded upper buttocks.

Dress: whole body painted black with codpiece and kilt with opening in front revealing codpiece, painted in white. Also white necklace with pendant hanging down consisting of double cross and disc. Fastening in kilt beside codpiece with four buttons(?)

Clay, orange-buff, black wash with traces of white paint; 7cm. ext. ht.



FEMALES:TYPE JJ2.I (Nos. 40, 79, 80, 97, 235)

No. 40 (Fig. 73)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum No. 22108

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing) probably Type 3

Gesture: (arms missing) probably Type 4(b)<sup>33</sup>

Head: rounded, with pinched out and rounded nose and chin,

leaving two eye depressions. Two small circular

pellets of clay applied into depressions for eyes.

Two additional moulded strips applied for ears. Mouth

indented. Long thick neck. Head tilted slightly back.

Torso: short, cylindrical torso flaring out at waist. Two

rounded, protruding breasts - set high and close together.

Lower Half: (mostly missing) body flares out below waist-line,

with concave interior.

Dress: beginnings of bell-shaped dress flaring out below waist-

line. Band round waist with bodice above rising to

peaked collar extending out horizontally at back of neck.

Breasts left exposed in front. Wide open bowl-shaped

hat projecting out and up from head and tilting forwards.

Clay, buff with pinkish tinge, pale slip, traces of black and

white paint; 6.4cm. ext. ht.

No. 79 (Pl. 77)

From Maza (? Β' Ταφος Στρατιῶν Πεδισαδος) Herakleion Museum No. 9863

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: (forearms missing) Type 4(a)

**Head:** conical, with pinched out nose and chin (both rounded and worn) leaving two large eye depressions. Two pellets of clay applied for ears. Head inclining backwards. Long, thick neck.

**Torso:** cylindrical, with slightly incurving sides. Two small pellet breasts set close together and framed by projecting arms.

**Lower Half:** bell-shaped, with hollow interior and once containing two legs (broken off below thighs).

**Dress:** bell-shaped dress extending to ground. Bodice hanging down low at back and leaving breasts exposed in front, and rising to peaked collar projecting outwards at back of neck. Hollow, conical hat extending upwards from head. Traces of white paint on torso, neck and face.

Clay, reddish-brown, fairly coarse; 10.4cm. ht.

No. 80 (Pl. 78)

From Maza (? Β' Ταφος Σταμνιῶν Πεδιαδος)<sup>34</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 986

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(a)

Head: - (missing)

**Torso and Lower Half:** cylindrical upper half flaring out and extending to ground, without waist definition. Arms extending out in front and slightly upwards but no breasts indicated.

**Dress:** bell-shaped dress extending to ground and with hollow interior rising to peaked collar projecting outwards at

back of neck.

Clay, reddish-brown, fairly coarse; 4.55cm. ht.

No. 97 (Pl. 79, Fig. 45)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 3431

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: (right arm missing) probably Type 4(b)

Head: rounded, with pinched out and rounded nose and chin

leaving two shallow eye depressions. Circular 'dot'

eyes and long eyebrows painted in, in black. Two

circular, moulded pieces of clay for ears, applied and

painted red. Long, thick neck emerging from torso.

No demarcation between head and hat.

Torso: cylindrical, with straight sides stopping at waist. Two

rounded and protruding breasts, applied, - set high and

close together and encased by arms held forwards before

the body.<sup>35</sup>

Lower Half: wide bell-shape, with hollow interior.<sup>36</sup>

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground with high bodice

exposing breasts in front and rising to peaked collar

projecting outwards at back of neck.<sup>37</sup> Skirt is painted

black with white diagonal lines painted on in alternate

directions in sets of three. Tall tongue-shaped hat

attached at top and back of head and sweeping forwards

in a high curve<sup>38</sup> and with recurved edges leaving shallow

bowl on interior. It has thick, white, horizontal lines

painted onto a black surface.<sup>39</sup>

Clay, pinkish-buff, slip, soft, dark brown, black and white

paint; 14.0cm. ht.

No. 235 (Pl. 80, Fig. 73)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum No. 2818

Female<sup>40</sup>

Posture: -(lower half missing)

Gesture: (arms missing) probably Type 4(b)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: cylindrical and short, with straight sides.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: remains of bodice rising to peaked collar projecting out in wide ridge from back of neck and curved round to front.<sup>41</sup>

Traces of white paint in front and dark paint all over.<sup>42</sup>

Clay, pale orange-buff, soft, traces of white and black paint; 3.8cm. ext. ht.

A figurine from the peak sanctuary of Xerokampos may be added to this group, now situated in the Agios Nikolaos Museum.<sup>43</sup>

It is almost identical to No. 97 of this type and wears a similar hat, tongue-shaped and curving slightly forwards and up from the head. The large eye depressions are not painted, however, but inset with two large pellets of clay and the arms are both held out straight in front of the body. The two small breasts set between the arms, 'hang' off the torso with their upper ends pressed down on to it.

From Phaistos (*PHI1*) a figurine belonging to this type group was uncovered from a well north-east of Room 73 of the palace. Like No. 97 above, it has a short, cylindrical torso with two breasts applied high and close together. She wears a long but less wide bell-shaped skirt extending to the ground and there are traces of white paint on the chest and face. The arms



are held forward in front of the body, bent slightly inwards, with forearms curving upwards. Her head and face, although worn, are more similar to those from Piskokephalo, with the hair gathered up in a bun at the back of the head and secured by a wide band. The head is inclined slightly to one side and rests on a thick neck (Fig. 74).

TYPE JJ2.II (No. 41)

No. 41 (Fig. 46)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum No. 21925

Female

Posture: (lower half missing) possibly Type 3

Gesture: (arms missing) possibly Type 4(b)<sup>44</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and cylindrical with slightly incurving sides and back and convex front (as if slightly tilting back). Two small and circular pellets of clay applied for breasts, between shoulders. Neck rising up from torso without demarcation.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: remains of high bodice rising to peaked collar at back of neck and curving round to front. No demarcation of collar and arms at back.

Clay, pinkish-grey, buff slip, soft; 7.4cm. ht.

TYPE KK2 (No. 98)

No. 98 (Pl. 81, Fig. 46)

From Petsopha. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 9960Φ

**Female**

**Posture:** - (lower half missing)

**Gesture:** Type 4(d)

**Head:** oval, with pinched out and worn nose leaving two large eye depressions. Pointed chin and two circular moulded pieces of clay applied for ears. Long, thin neck. Head tilting well back.<sup>45</sup>

**Torso:** lozenge-shaped, with steeply slanting shoulders and sides incurving to narrow waist. Rounded protrusions for breasts. Thin profile with flattened, slightly concave back. Arms pulled forwards and held together in front with thin forearms and rounded upper arms.

**Lower Half:** - (missing)

**Dress:** remains of bodice rising up to peaked collar at back of neck and closed in front. Traces of black and white paint. Lower half of wide, shallow open-bowl hat.

**Clay,** pinkish-buff, soft, traces of black, white and brown paint; 6.9cm. ext. ht.

TYPE LL2 (No. 99 + one from Kalamaki)

No. 99 (Pl. 82, Fig. 47)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 3439

**Female**

**Posture:** Type 3

**Gesture:** (forearms missing) Type 4 possibly (d)

**Head:** triangular, with rounded-off pointed chin. Pinched out and pointed nose leaving two shallow depressions for eyes. Two circular pellets of clay applied for

ears. Long thin neck.

Torso: long and cylindrical with flattened back. Two rounded breasts applied - set close together and encased by arms. Sides narrowing to waist.

Lower Half: (restored) bell-shaped, with hollow interior extending to ground.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground rising to low peaked collar closely fitting against back of neck. Breasts exposed. Large and deep open bowl-shaped hat placed well forward over head and pulled in slightly at the sides leaving slightly peaked front and back.<sup>46</sup>

Clay, reddish-buff, coarse with white flecks; 15.5cm. ht.

To this figurine may be added one more from the peak sanctuary of Kalamaki, now situated in the Agios Nikolaos Museum.<sup>47</sup> She stands upright with the arms bent at the elbows and held below the breasts. The torso is long and cylindrical, narrowing to the waist and with two large, rounded breasts applied (one missing). The shoulders are broad and horizontal and the neck long and thin. The head differs to No. 99, however, in that the features are modelled and not pinched out, particularly the nose. The mouth is indicated by a light, horizontal incision and the eyes are circular. On her head she wears a rounded and flattish hat.

TYPE NN2.I (Nos. 36, 100, 101, 162, 163 + two from Prinias)

No. 36 (Pl. 83)

From Arvi. Ashmolean Museum No. ASH 425

Female<sup>48</sup>

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left arm missing): Type 2(h)

Head: rounded, with pinched out nose leaving two large depressions. Two large pellets of clay for eyes inserted into depressions. Two more rounded pieces of clay applied for ears.

Torso: rectangular, with gently slanting shoulders and straight sides at waist. Two small, rounded breasts applied irregularly. Flat back with slightly convex front.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: remains of a belt beneath the right arm about the waist.

Small and round flat cap on top of head with two incised lines running down from it at back of head.

Clay, buff, fairly coarse; 6.6cm. ext. ht.

No. 100 (Pl. 84)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 2437

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: (lower arms missing) probably Type 4(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: short and rectangular with straight-sided waist. Slightly slanting shoulders and arms (without demarcation) - curving down to waist on underside. Two rounded pellets applied irregularly for breasts and very worn. Flattened back and front with thin profile.

Lower Half: gently flaring into bell-shape with hollow interior.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt extending to ground with jacket (ex-



posing breasts at front? - very worn). Thick double belt round waist tying in centre front and hanging down skirt.

Clay, orange-buff, grey core; 7.3cm. ext. ht.

No. 101 (Fig. 75)

From Petsopha. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 10161Φ

Female (double)

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (left arm missing side A and both arms missing side B) probably Type 2(d) on side A at least

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with long, gently slanting shoulders and rounded elbows. Two small pellet breasts applied irregularly on both sides. Same shoulder but arms moulded separately. Fairly thin, flat profile.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, dull buff with orange tinge, self slip; 2.7cm. ext. ht.

No. 162 (Fig. 48)

From Traostalos. Herakleion Museum No. 16444

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: (forearms missing) probably Type 4(c)

Head: lozenge-shaped, with rounded-off, pointed chin. Pinched out nose with shallow and small eye depressions. Light incision for mouth. Ears pinched out from sides of head. Low, thick neck.

Torso: rectangular, with long, slanting shoulders and straight sides with arms curved round to front. Fairly flat back

and front. Two small conical breasts applied -  
set high and close together.

Lower Half: bell-shape extending out and down to ground (with  
lower front section missing) and hollow.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground with bodice  
rising to flattened collar at back of neck and leaving  
breasts exposed. Thick but narrow, rounded belt tied  
round waist and hanging down on left side. Large and  
wide open-bowl hat rising up from head and held  
slightly forward. Traces of brown paint on skirt and  
jacket.

Clay, pale buff with orange tinge, traces of pale brown paint;  
16.0cm. ht.

No. 163

From Traostalos. Herakleion Museum No. 16474

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 8(c)

Head: oval, with pinched out nose and chin but flattened mouth.

Two large and deep eye depressions covering most of  
face. Long neck.

Torso: short and rectangular with long, slanting shoulders  
merging into looped arms. Clay depressed at ends of  
arms for hands and further incised to indicate fingers.  
Two small pellet breasts applied but mostly concealed  
beneath crossed arms.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, pale orange-buff; 6.2cm. ext. ht.

Two more figurines may be added to this type group, both from the peak sanctuary of Prinias and now situated in the Agios Nikolaos Museum, Nos. 5932 and 6036.<sup>49</sup> No. 5932 has a rectangular torso with sides slightly narrowing to the waist, flattened back and front, and two small pellets of clay attached to the torso (one missing). The arms are 'looped' out and down to the hips, and round the waist she wears a thick and rounded double belt evidently tying on the right side: the lower half is missing. The head has a long, thin neck and the characteristic pinched out nose and eye depressions with an open-bowl hat on top. No. 6063 has a similar torso, with two small pellets attached, - narrowing to the waist with flattened front and back. The bell-shaped skirt flares out slightly at the waist and extends down to the ground. The head does not have the characteristically pinched out nose but is more carefully modelled, and the eyes have been formed by piercing two holes. The eyebrows are modelled above and the mouth is indicated by a light incision. She does wear the characteristic open-bowl hat on her head however.

TYPE NN2.II (No. 153)

No. 153 (Fig. 49)

From Prinias. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 5897

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (forearms missing) Type 4(b)<sup>50</sup>

Head: - (missing)

**Torso:** rectangular, with straight sides narrowing towards waist. Rounded shoulders and thick upper arms. Two irregular 'hanging' breasts moulded and applied to torso irregularly. Flattened back and fairly thin profile.

**Lower Half:** - (missing)

**Dress:** - (no indications)

**Clay,** orange-buff, coarse, brown and grey flecks; 3.85cm. ext. ht.

TYPE PP2 (No. 187)

No. 187 (Pl. 85, Fig. 49)

From Chamaizi. Herakleion Museum No. 3489

Female<sup>51</sup>

**Posture:** Type 3

**Gesture:** Type 4(d)<sup>52</sup>

**Head:** triangular, with long, rounded-off chin. Two large and rounded pellet eyes and moulded ears, applied .

**Torso:** rectangular, with straight sides narrowing towards waist and long, gently slanting shoulders.

Two large, conical breasts applied in centre of torso.

Flattened back and front with thin profile.

**Lower Half:** flattened bell with hollow interior.

**Dress:** bell-shaped skirt extending to ground with flattened front and more rounded back and gathered at sides to form pleat. Thin band round waist. Traces of reddish-brown paint all over. Flat 'beret' with rounded edges on top of head.

**Clay,** pale orange-buff, buff slip, traces of brown paint,



fairly coarse; 21.65cm. ht.

TYPE QQ2 (Nos. 85, 102, 103, 104)

No. 81 (Pl. 86)

From Maza. (? B' Ταφος Σταμνίων Πεδιαδος 1952)<sup>53</sup>

Herakleion Museum No. 9864

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 9

Head: - (missing)

Torso: short and rectangular with straight sides and flaring out widely below waist. Arms loop round from side laterals to cover chest and hands to chin. Breasts covered(?)

Lower Half: irregular and moulded bell-shape - solid.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt pulled in on either side forming pleats and leaving depression in centre front of skirt. Irregular base. Bodice rising to peak and projecting outwards at back of neck.

Clay, orange-brown, fairly soft; 5.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 102 (Pl. 87)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 9860

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: (forearms missing) probably Type 4

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, slanting shoulders, incurving sides to waist and incurving back. Thick neck projecting from torso.

**Featureless.**

**Lower Half:** rounded back with large, square and flat block attached to front of lower body and extending out at sides.

**Dress:** bell-shaped dress extending to ground, and rising to peaked collar projecting outwards at back of neck.

**Clay,** reddish-brown, fairly coarse; 8.6cm. ext. ht.

**No. 103 (Pl. 88)**

**From Petsopha.** Herakleion Museum No. 9861

**Female**

**Posture:** Type 3

**Gesture:** Type 3(d)(very worn and broken off)

**Head:** - (missing)

**Torso:** rectangular front with steeply incurving back leaving thin profile. Thick neck projecting up from torso.

**Torso inclined backwards. Featureless.**

**Lower Half:** body flaring out below waist giving wide bell-shape with irregular wavy front and slightly rounded and wavy back with sides drawn in to thin edge. Underside of dress crudely filled with irregular pieces of clay - possible attempt at moulding feet and legs.

**Dress:** wide bell-shaped dress with irregular wavy front and back (possibly denoting movement of legs underneath), and gathered at sides. Rises to a peaked collar which projects out horizontally at back of neck and curves down steeply to waist on underside.

**Clay,** reddish-brown, fairly coarse; 8.2cm. ext..ht.

No. 104 (Pl. 89, Fig. 50)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 9859

Female<sup>54</sup>

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(g)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: small and rectangular with rounded shoulders and arms looped round to front. Incurving back, once rising to peaked collar at back of neck (broken off).

Flat front, giving thin profile. Featureless.

Lower Half: body flaring out below waist giving wide bell-shape with flattish front and very rounded protruding back. Two legs, with right foot missing and moulded separately revealed below hollow waist.

Dress: wide bell-shaped dress with flattened front and indication of pleating on left hand side. Rounded posterior and irregular edge at base.

Clay, reddish-brown, fairly coarse; 8cm. ext. ht.

TYPE RR2 (No. 199)

No. 199 (Pl. 90, Fig. 50)

From Knossos. Ashmolean Museum No. AE991

Female

Posture: (lower part of skirt missing) Type 3

Gesture: (left arm and right forearm missing) probably Type 3(a)

Head: - (missing) long, thin neck.

Torso: squarish, with near horizontal shoulders and incurving sides for waist. Flattened back and chest with rounded stomach. Arms rounded and outstretched.

Lower Half: flaring below waist on both sides and rounded.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt once extending to ground with very thick double belt going round waist at back and descending into V-shaped opening down front of skirt.

Skirt painted dark brown to black with red vertical lines superimposed - set in pairs interspersed with white X's. White torso with traces of red paint and red band round neck.

Clay, pale pinkish-buff, white slip, traces of black, dark brown and red paint, hard; 7.8cm. ext. ht.

TYPE SS2 (No. 154)

No. 154 (Fig. 51)

From Prinias. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 5934

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: narrow, with well-moulded and rounded breasts - incurving sides at waist flaring for hips. Very irregular.

Lower Half: flaring with rounded back and wavy front. Hollow interior and irregular base.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt extending to ground and depressed in centre front. Apron/shawl worn over torso and upper skirt - applied separately and pressed down over body with additional small vertical incisions all round its edges.

Clay, orange-buff, pale brown slip; 8.4cm. ext. ht.



TYPE TT2.I (Nos. 116, 117, 165)

No. 116 (Pl. 91, Fig. 52)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9764

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left arm missing) Type 2(d)<sup>55</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides narrowing and slightly incurving at waist. Broad and rounded, horizontal shoulders with rounded arm and elbow curved round to front. Hand not distinguished. Two small 'hanging' breasts applied to torso. Slightly convex front and back and thick profile. Tenon in base of torso for insertion into lower half.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, orange-buff, self slip, traces of white and yellowish-brown paint, scattered flecks; 6.6cm. ext. ht.

No. 117 (Pl. 92)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9777

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (right arm missing and hand of left arm) Type 2(d)<sup>56</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with sides narrowing and incurving slightly at waist. Broad and rounded, horizontal shoulders with rounded upper arms and elbows and thin, tubular fore-arms. Two rounded breast protrusions evenly placed.

Convex front and back and thick profile.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of reddish-brown slip;

6.3cm. ext. ht.

No. 165<sup>57</sup> (Fig. 76)

From Traostalos. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv.number)

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (arms missing) possibly Type 4(c)<sup>58</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides narrowing and incurving slightly at waist. Broad and rounded shoulders with rounded upper arms. Two small pellets of clay applied irregularly - set high up on torso. Flattened back with slightly convex front and thick profile. Tenon on base of torso for insertion into lower half.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Clay, pale orange-buff, fairly soft; 6.8cm. ext. ht.

TYPE TT2.II (Nos. 118, 166)

No. 118 (Pl. 93, Fig. 52)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9751

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 2(h)

Head: large and rounded, with pinched out, pointed nose and chin, leaving two large eye depressions covering face. Mouth

area flattened. Ears pulled out leaving depression at side of head. Head tilted back. Long, thin neck.

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides narrowing and slightly incurving at waist. Broad, horizontal shoulders with thin, rounded arms looped round to the front. Flattened back and front.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, orange-buff with pinkish tinge, self slip, traces of white paint; 10.9cm. ext. ht.

No. 166 (Fig. 76)

From Traostalos. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 6994

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: (lower half missing). Rounded and broad, near horizontal shoulders. One small pellet breast extant only and applied. Flattened back and slightly rounded front. Thick profile.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: semi-circular ridge projecting up slightly at back of neck - suggestive of a peaked collar(?)

Clay, orange, traces of reddish-brown paint, fairly coarse; 4.6cm. ext. ht.

TYPE TT2.III (No. 119)

No. 119 (Pl. 94, Fig. 53)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9778

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides narrowing and incurving slightly at waist. Broad, rounded, horizontal shoulders with rounded upper arms. One large, conical breast applied on left side (the other broken off). Stomach swelling out below breasts possibly denoting pregnancy. Flattened back. Thick profile.

Clay, pinkish-buff, self slip, traces of white paint, coarse and gritty; 8.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE TT2.IV (Nos. 120, 121, 122)

No. 120 (Pl. 95, Fig. 53)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9768

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (right arm and left hand missing) Type 2 possibly (d)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides narrowing and curving slightly to waist. Long, broad, gently sloping and rounded shoulders. Thick, rounded upper arms with thinner, more tubular forearms. Slight breast protrusions beneath jacket. Flattened back and slightly convex front. Thick profile.



Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: jacket with deep but narrow V-shape in front and with sleeves. Traces of red paint.

Clay, orange-buff, self slip, traces of reddish-brown paint, fairly coarse, scattered flecks; 8.1cm. ext. ht.

No. 121 (Pl. 96)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9767

Female

Posture: (lower half missing) possibly Type 3

Gesture: (left arm missing) Type 2(1)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with broad, gently slanting and rounded shoulders. Sides narrowing and incurving slightly at waist. Long, thin arms with rounded, featureless hands (formed by pressing down the ends of the clay arm strips). Small pellet breasts applied beneath hands. Flat back and convex front. Thick profile.

Lower Half: (mostly missing) Slight flare below waist continuing a short way downwards. Convex front and back - very rounded.

Dress: jacket with deep U-shape opening in front exposing breasts, and with long sleeves. Upper part of narrow bell-shaped skirt.

Clay, orange-buff, traces of red paint, soft; 10.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 122 (Pl. 97)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9768

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left forearm and right hand missing) Type 2 possibly (b)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with long, slanting shoulders and sides  
narrowing and slightly incurving to waist. Rounded,  
tubular arms with right arm bent sharply at elbow.  
Breasts protruding slightly below jacket - semi-exposed.  
Convex front and back. Thick profile.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: jacket with deep irregular V-shape in front, semi-exposing breasts, and with long sleeves.

Clay, reddish-brown, grey core, coarse and gritty; 6.8cm. ext. ht.

TYPE UU2.I(Nos. 68, 200)

No. 68 (Pl. 98, Fig. 54)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14203

Female

Posture: (lower half largely missing) probably Type 3

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with straight-sided waist and  
horizontal shoulders interrupted by belt. Two small,  
conical, moulded breasts applied. Flattened back and  
convex front. Thick profile.

Lower Half: slight flare below waist. Rounded and roughly  
moulded.

Dress: upper half of narrow bell-shaped skirt extant, with part  
of thick double belt remaining on left hand side of waist.

Clay, dull orange, grey core, coarse and gritty; 10.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 200 (Pl. 99)

From Knossos. Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No. HH/58/156<sup>59</sup>

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: wide and rectangular, with gently slanting shoulders and sides narrowing to waist - interrupted by belt. Two small, roughly moulded, conical breasts applied. Flattened back and convex front. Thick profile.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: upper back part and lower left hand section of thick double belt extant - wavy at back and apparently tying on left hand side.

Clay, orange-buff, pale buff slip, grey core, coarse and gritty;  
7.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE UU2, II (No. 201)

No. 201 (Pl. 100, Fig. 55)

From Knossos.<sup>60</sup> Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No. LGI/57/16

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)<sup>61</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with near horizontal shoulders and sides slightly incurving at waist. Two roughly moulded, conical breasts applied (now very worn). Flattened back and slightly convex front. Thick profile.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, orange-buff, pale buff slip, coarse and gritty, with multi-coloured flecks; 7.9cm. ext. ht.

TYPE VV2 (No. 167)

No. 167 (Fig. 56)

From Traostalos. Herakleion Museum No. 16465

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 8(b)

Head: large and rounded, with long, moulded nose and chin. Two thick locks coming down from top of head and looped round at back to form elaborate bun. Very thick neck framed on both sides by hair.

Torso: long, thin and rectangular, with straight sides narrowing to waist. Rounded arms looped round to front from neck with no demarcations, and covering left breast. Hands not indicated. Two large, conical breasts applied. Flattened back and front.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: open-fronted jacket or bodice painted in brown with front painted in white.

Clay, dull orange-buff, traces of white and brown paint; 10.3cm. ext. ht.

TYPE WW2 (No. 106)

No. 106 (Fig. 57)

From Petsopha. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 7718



Female

Posture:- (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 7<sup>62</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, narrow, rectangular and crudely modelled with two rounded strips for arms with no demarcations. Two moulded and large breasts applied and set close together.

Rounded, narrow back and rounded front.

Lower Half: (largely missing) very slight indication of flared skirt below belt, remaining narrow and rounded.

Dress: open-fronted bodice rising to peak at back of neck, (extending vertically), and leaving breasts exposed.

Thick belt, crossing over in front, applied round waist.

Clay, dull buff; 6.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE XX2 (No. 225)

No. 225 (Pl. 101, Fig. 57)

From Phaistos. Herakleion Museum No. 2680

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left forearm missing) Type 4(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with sides coming straight down from under arm and incurving very slightly at waist. Long, slanting shoulders curved round to front with no demarcations on arms for elbows and hands. Two large, moulded breasts.

Flattened back and convex front.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: open-fronted red jacket with short sleeves and red straps crossing over the exposed and white-painted breasts. Red paint round neck with red and greyish-blue pendants hanging from band. Traces of black paint at waist.

Clay, pale buff, traces of red, white, blue and black paint, hard; 5.5cm. ext. ht.

YY2: SKIRTS (Nos. 123, 155, 168)

I. No. 123 (Pl. 102, Fig. 58)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9773(2)<sup>63</sup>

Long, narrow bell-shape flaring slightly at waist and going straight down at sides. Drawn in at sides into a triple pleat. Flat back and rounded front with pleats at rear sides, attached separately. Hollow interior. Thick mould.

Clay, pale pinkish-buff, scattered grey flecks; 12.5 and 12.0cm. hts.

II. No. 155 (Pl. 103a, Fig. 59)

From Prinias. Agios Nikolaos Museum No. 5933

Long, narrow, irregular bell-shape with slight flare at top then coming straight down with slight incurve at sides and flaring out again at base. Diagonal moulded fold going right down length of skirt. Light incisions made down fold and continuing in a band round the edge of the skirt. Thick mould. Partially hollow interior with two legs inserted in base - no evidence left for feet.

Clay, orange-buff, traces of orangy-brown paint; 10.3cm. ht.

III. No. 168 (Fig. 60)

From Traostalos. Herakleion Museum No. 16446

Wide bell-shape flaring out from waist and drawn in at sides

into a triple pleat, leaving oval base. Hollow interior.

Wide sash or belt applied on top of skirt extending downwards in the front in loops and tying in an elaborate knot in centre front. Thick mould.

Clay, orange-buff; 8.6cm. ext. ht.

## ZZ2: HEADS

No. ZZ2.I (Pl. 105, Fig. 61)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9732

Female

Oval, with moulded eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth. Ears broken off.

Two thick, circular bands, the uppermost smaller, gathering hair above head. Hair emerges from top band and from beneath lower band in five long, wavy locks. In front the hair just emerges from the lower band, is parted in the middle, and falls either side of the forehead and round behind the ears.

No. ZZ2.II (Pl. 106, Fig. 61)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9739

Female

Oval, with worn slightly inset eyes. Thin, fine and carefully modelled nose, and mouth. Hair is applied and tied up in a large bun emerging from the back of the head inclining upwards, and gathered by a wide band. It is parted in the middle of the forehead and falls down either side framing the face and eventually curving round to the back. Traces of white paint all over the face and neck.

No. ZZ2.III (Pl. 116, Fig. 62)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9731

## Female

Oval, with worn slightly inset eyes. Modelled eyebrows and thin, fine nose. Chin and mouth very worn.

Hat made up of two thick discs, the uppermost smaller than the lower, placed on top of head and inclining slightly back. Hair parted in centre forehead and falls either side curving round behind the ears. Four thick and wavy locks descending down back of neck. (Similar to ZZ2.I)

No. ZZ2.IV (Pl. 117, Fig. 63)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9744

## Female

Long, thinner oval, with slightly inset eyes and thin, fine nose. Two small, modelled ears. Rest of features very worn. Tall and deep open-bowl shaped hat rising straight up from head and inclining slightly back ('polos' hat). No hair indicated.

No. ZZ2.V (Pl. 118, Fig. 63)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9730

## Female

Rounded, with large, pinched out nose leaving two eye depressions inset with large, circular pellets of clay. Pinched out and pointed chin. Rounded crown, much worn. Hair gathered in bun at back of head, projecting out almost horizontally from head. Wide band round hair with two attached pellets of clay on right side (buttons?)

No. ZZ2.VI (Pl. 119, Fig. 64)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9746

## Probably Female

Oval, with very worn and slightly inset eyes; small and fine



modelled nose, mouth and circular ears. Hair gathered up in a small, central bun at back of head with four smaller buns encircling central fixture. Traces of white paint over face and neck.

No. ZZ2.VII (Pl. 132)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14162 (In exhibition)

Female

Triangular head with rounded and moulded chin. Pinched out nose with shallow eye depressions inset with two small pellets of clay. Mouth area flattened. Two triangular pieces of clay applied for ears and crudely moulded. Short curls across forehead emerging from base of hat. Wide and thick brimmed, flattish hat extending forwards and inclining upwards from face, with shorter projection behind. Concave, shallow bowl interior.

No. ZZ2.VIII (Pl. 133)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14176 (In exhibition)

Female

Triangular, with large, pinched out nose and chin leaving fine ridge down centre of face and two deep eye depressions inset with small pellets of clay. Two moulded and protruding elongated strips applied for ears. Large and wide open bowl-shaped hat set slightly forward on head and made up of six coils of clay with incised rim round the top. Short curls of hair emerging from hat along forehead.

ZZ2.IX (Pl. 134, Fig. 64)

From Knossos. Herakleion Museum No. 9248

Female

Triangular, with rounded-off chin and large, moulded nose. Two small pellets of clay set either side of nose for eyes. Mouth

indented and eyebrows painted on in black. Traces of white paint of right side of face but once covering whole of face. Large open-bowl hat with a wavy snake-like strip of clay round its perimeter and one loop handle extending from front to back of hat.

Clay, reddish-brown, traces of white paint, coarse; 6.8cm. ext. ht.

ZZ2.X (Fig. 65)

From Mallia. French School Apotheke No. M.68.F.18

Female

Rounded, with pinched out but modelled nose. Slight circular eye indentations inset with clay pellets and with modelled eyebrows and irises. Two modelled, circular ears applied. Head surmounted by large, open-bowl-shaped hat extending outwards, and upwards, covering crown completely. Long, thin neck with tenon emerging at base.

Clay, pinkish-buff, traces of red and blue paint; 9.2cm. ext. ht.

TYPE AA3 (Nos. 185, 186)

## HERMAPHRODITES

No. 185 (Pl. 135, Fig. 77)

From Chamaizi. Herakleion Museum No. 3488

Hermaphrodite

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 12

Head: oval, with pinched out and moulded nose, leaving shallow eye depressions inserted with pellets of clay for eyes.

Rounded chin held forwards as top of head inclines slightly back. Curved strips of clay applied for ears. Long neck.

Torso: triangular, with sides narrowing sharply to drawn in waist. Two small pellets of clay applied for breasts - set high up on otherwise flat torso. Flat back with slightly convex shoulders and thin profile.

Lower Half: curved and rounded hips coming out from waist with thick, rather shapeless legs narrowing at feet and slightly incurving at knees. Protruding and rounded posterior. Two triangular feet set on a square base.

Dress: small, round cap on top of head. Otherwise no indications.

Clay, orange-buff, beige slip, fairly coarse, white and brown flecks; 27.9cm. ht.

No. 186 (Pl. 136)

From Chamaizi. Herakleion Museum No. 3484

Hermaphrodite

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 12<sup>64</sup>

Head: more rounded, with pinched out and moulded nose and chin, leaving very shallow eye depressions inset with two pellets

of clay and emphasised brow ridge. Two curved strips of clay applied for ears. Long neck.

Torso: triangular, with sides narrowing steeply to drawn in waist

Two small pellets of clay applied for breasts - set high into an otherwise flat front. Flat back with slightly convex shoulders. Arms more steeply bent at elbows with forearms inclining more steeply.

Lower Half: curved and rounded hips coming out from waist

with thick, rather shapeless legs narrowing at feet and slightly incurving at waist. Triangular feet set onto square base. Protruding posterior, with slight indications of buttocks.

Dress: small, round cap on top of head (or clump of hair). Otherwise no indications.

Clay, orange-buff, traces of reddish-brown paint, fairly coarse, white and grey flecks; 26.7cm. ht.

TYPE BB3 (No. 11)

No. 11 (Pl. 137, Fig. 78)

From Kamilari. Herakleion Museum No. F2634

Hermaphrodite (Four similar figures joined by the arms on a circular platform)

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 3(a) (but linked to each other)

Head: small and rounded, with pinched out nose and chin but very worn. Two curved strips applied for ears on two of the figures. Thick necks.

Torso: Sinuous outline with waist drawn in and sides curving



down from arms - uninterrupted. Two pellets of clay applied on torso - set high. Flattened back and front with rounded shoulders and arms held out to the side and linked to each other.

Lower Half: curved and rounded hips coming out from waist, with legs set together tightly and tapering to ankles. Round, protruding posterior with slight indications of buttocks. Small, triangular penis apparently hanging naked applied. All figures standing on a circular platform with raised edges and surmounted by four 'horns of consecration' Two of the figures stand with their arms extending over the arm of their neighbour with the other two only touching at the hands. Triangular feet set together tightly.

Dress: three wear small conical caps with tips curved backwards.

Clay, reddish-buff, yellow-buff slip, fairly coarse and gritty;

15.6cm. max. ht.

TYPE CC3 (No. 12)

No. 12 (Pl. 138)

From Kamilari. Herakleion Museum No. F.2633/10572

Hermaphrodite. (One large figure bent over a table set on a circular platform with a door-like structure behind the figure. Remains of two legs of a second figure opposite at the other end of the table and third figure in doorway but of an indistinguishable sex)

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 4(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: pulled in waist, leaving incurving sides. Thick, rounded shoulders and featureless arms curved round to the front. Large, protruding and thickly moulded breasts. Convex back.

Lower Half: curved and rounded hips and thickly moulded, short, featureless legs. Large, triangular penis applied - apparently naked.

Dress: - (traces of white paint on torso)

Clay, reddish-buff, yellow-buff slip, traces of red and black paint, fairly coarse and gritty; 4.5cm. ht. (of seated figure).

### TYPE DD3

No. 159 (Fig. 79)

From Traostalos. Herakleion Museum No. 16439

Hermaphrodite

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 2(b)

Head: large egg-shape, with pinched out nose and chin leaving fine ridge down centre of face and two deep eye depressions. Latter inserted with two large pellets of clay. Thick neck.

Torso: wide and square, with thick, straight-sided waist and arms bent at elbow and held to chest, covering breasts but with hands clasped just below neck. Two small,

conical, applied breasts just visible below arms.

Rounded profile thickly moulded.

Lower Half: two thickly moulded legs with wide hips and set tightly together. Knees pinched out leaving two small depressions on each knee. Feet missing.

Dress: wide sash or belt descending at back to cover buttocks with attached codpiece in front, and rising to just below breasts.

Clay, pale orange-buff; 15.5cm. ext. ht.

### TYPE EE3

No. 113 (Pl. 139, Fig. 80)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9752

Hermaphrodite

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, rectangular and thickly moulded torso with sides slightly incurving at waist. Rounded, gently slanting shoulders. Two irregular but small pellet breasts attached unevenly on to torso. Thick neck.

Lower Half: thickly moulded and rounded hips and thighs with oblong codpiece attached to groin and upward from it. Rest missing.

Dress: - (no indications other than codpiece)

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of reddish-brown paint; 9.0cm. ext.

UNKNOWN SEX

TYPE FF3 (No. J4, J5)

No. J4 (Fig. 81)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)<sup>65</sup>

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 3(c)

Head: squarish, with convex crown and chin. Pinched out nose leaving eye depressions and brow ridges with two large pellets of clay inset for eyes. Large crescent-shaped piece of clay applied for mouth and chin.

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides slightly incurving at waist but running down into legs uninterrupted. Featureless. Arms pulled out and projecting out to side.

Lower Half: short, oblong, featureless legs pulled out from torso and set apart.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay

No. J5 (Fig. 96)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (right arm missing) probably Type 3(c) as above

Head: squarish, with convex crown and chin. Facial features as above, but cruder and smaller pellets of clay set into eye depressions.

Torso: as above, with left arm tapering more towards its end.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)



Clay

TYPE GG3.I (No. 152)

No. 152 (Fig. 81)

From Prinias. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv.number)<sup>66</sup>

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 4(c)

Head: oval, and running straight into neck without demarcation.

Nose slightly pinched out into long, fine ridge leaving shallow eye depressions. Otherwise featureless.

Torso: triangular, with steeply incurving sides to waist and rounded arms curved round to front almost horizontally. Light incisions to indicate fingers. Small incision down centre of chest.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, pale orange-buff.

TYPE GG3.II (No. 61)

No. 61 (Pl. 140, Fig. 81)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14222

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: rounded, with nose slightly pinched out into long, fine ridge leaving shallow eye depressions. Otherwise featureless.

Torso: slanting shoulders and sides of torso incurving to waist. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, pale orange-buff, soft; 3.5cm. ext. ht.

TYPE HH3 (No. 78)

No. 78 (Pl. 141, Fig. 82)

From Maza. Herakleion Museum No. 9856

Unknown Sex

Posture: (legs missing) probably Type 1

Gesture: (forearms missing) Type 2(b)

Head:- (missing)

Torso: long and rectangular, with sides slightly incurving at waist. Incurving back and convex front with small arms held tightly to chest. Featureless.

Lower Half: sides running straight down into legs uninterrupted. Rounded legs and rounded protruding buttocks.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, dark pinkish-buff, fairly coarse; 5.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE II3 (No. 61)

No. 62 (Pl. 1+2, Fig. 83)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14160

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: (left arm and right forearm missing) Type 5?<sup>67</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, but wide, with sides slightly incurving.

Slanting shoulders with right arm once bent round tightly to chest. Rounded profile.

Lower Half: (mostly missing). Rounded thighs and buttocks with incision between legs at front and back.

Dress: Jacket(?) to waist, hanging down slightly on left side at back and left front.

Clay, pale orange-buff, soft; 5.0cm. ext. ht.

TYPE JJ3 (No. 115)

No. 115 (Pl. 143, Fig. 83)

From Piskokephalo. Herakleion Museum No. 9754

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 2(g)<sup>68</sup>

Head: - (missing)

Torso: wide and rectangular, with sides slightly incurving at waist. Convex front and back. Featureless. Thin, tubular arms looped round with hands meeting high up torso. Hands formed by gently pressing end of arm strips down on to torso and making a few light incisions for fingers (very crude, however). Featureless torso.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, orange, micaceous; 4.7cm. ext. ht.

TYPE KK3 (No. 63)

No. 63 (Pl. 144, Fig. 83)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14192

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 2(h)

Head: rectangular, with rounded crown and running straight into neck without demarcation. Large, pinched out nose and chin leaving long ridge down centre of face, brows and large eye depressions covering most of face and inset with two small pellets of clay. Long neck. Small extant pellet applied for ear.

Torso: narrow and rectangular, with small, rounded arms tapering to hands looped round to chest. Flattened front and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of brown paint, coarse and gritty, brown and grey flecks; 5.0cm. ext. ht.

TYPE LL3 (No. 191)

No. 191 (Pl. 145, Fig. 84)

Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum Knossos No. RR/59/152<sup>69</sup>

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: lozenge-shaped, with arms broken off and narrow waist -



only slightly wider than neck width. Convex back and front. Hollow.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: highly decorative jacket (?) with large, black, concentric circles on either side of chest in front and concentric lozenge pattern on back. Thick, dark orange-brown belt round waist. Creamy-white background.

Clay, pale orange-buff, fine and hard; 4.2cm. ext. ht.

TYPE NN3 (nos. 64, 65)

No. 64 (Pl. 146, Fig. 84)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14147

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: rectangular, with thick incurving neck. Pinched out nose and chin leaving long ridge down centre of face protruding still more at nose, and two large eye depressions inset with very small pellets of clay. Flat back of head.

Torso: long and broad, near horizontal shoulders with waist narrowing beneath arms. Flattened front and back with rounded arms. Featureless.

Lower Half: -(missing)

Dress: (no indications) - only tall, hollow, cylindrical, 'polos' hat rising up from head with higher top front.

Clay, pale buff, self slip, coarse with orange, brown and grey flecks; 7.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 65 (Pl. 147)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14155

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: triangular, with sides narrowing steeply to small waist.

Long, broad, gently slanting and rounded shoulders.

Rounded upper arms. Flattened back and front.

Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, buff, pinkish-buff core, traces of black paint, coarse and gritty; 5.0cm. ext. ht.

TYPE PP3 (Nos. 66, 67)

No. 66 (Pl. 148, Fig. 85)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14148

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left arm and right forearm missing) Type 6<sup>70</sup>

Head: oval, with long neck. Moulded nose and chin - very worn.

Rounded profile.

Torso : squarish, with sides narrowing only slightly. Convex front and back and rounded waist. Broad, near horizontal shoulders and rounded right arm.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications) short and solid circular hat.

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty, grey and brown flecks;

6.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 67 (Pl. 149)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14252

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: - (forearms missing) possible 4(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with wide, straight-sided waist. Long, gently slanting shoulders and rounded arms curving round to front. Deep and irregularly-shaped opening down centre front of torso (leaf-shaped). Flattened back and irregular convex front.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: possible bodice, opening in front.<sup>71</sup>

Clay, orange, coarse and gritty; 6.0cm. ext. ht.

TYPE QQ3.I (nos. 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, J2, J3)

No. 193 (Pl. 150, Fig. 86)

From Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No.RR/59/120<sup>72</sup>

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(a)

Head: conical, with head running straight into shoulders without demarcation. Pinched out nose and chin leaving fine ridge down centre of face and two large eye depressions covering most of face. Two small pellets of clay applied for ears. Head inclining back with uppermost edges pulled further up to form hat.

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical, with concave back and straight sides flaring out towards base. With arms formed from strips pulled forwards from torso with ends flattened giving short and thick, crude projections. Featureless. Solid.

Dress: ? possible dress with flared base? Flared but flattened hat projecting up from head with wider front than back.

Clay, pale orange-buff, self slip, grey and white flecks;  
6.0cm. ext. ht.

No. 194 (Pl. 151)

From Knossos, Hogarth's Houses. Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos  
No. HH/58/193

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: cylindrical with peaked top, and running straight into torso without demarcation. Pinched out nose and chin leaving large eye depressions covering most of face. Head inclining well back with uppermost edges pulled further up to form hat.

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical, with steeply incurving back, and front slightly incurving. Straight sides flaring at base and arm stumps pulled out from upper torso and flattened giving trunk-like projections. Featureless. Solid.

Dress: ? possible dress with flared base, and flattened but flared hat pulled in at front to form slight peak.

Clay, pale orange-buff, soft; 5.2cm. ext. ht.



No. 195 (Pl. 152)

From Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum No. RR/59/158

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing) probably Type 3 as above

Gesture: - (torso missing) probably Type 3(d) as above

Head: cylindrical, with incurving sides and pinched out nose leaving two deep depressions covering most of face. Runs straight into torso without demarcation. Solid

Torso and Lower Half: - (missing) probably as above.

Dress: flattened but flaring hat pulled out from head with slight peaked front and straight sides.

Clay, pale orange-buff, fairly soft, dark flecks; 3.2cm. ext. ht.

No. 196 (Pl. 153)

From Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum No. RR/59/184

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: - (missing)

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical, with slightly incurving sides and flared base (underside concave). Arms pulled forwards and flattened forming wide arm stumps. Featureless. Solid.

Dress: ? possible dress with flared base.

Clay, pale buff, cream-buff slip, fairly coarse with dark flecks; 4.2cm. ext. ht.

No. 197 (Pl. 154)

From Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum No. RR/58/707

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing) probably Type 3 as above

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: cylindrical, with flared top. Featureless (very worn). Running straight into torso without demarcation.

Torso: cylindrical, with arms pulled forwards and flattened forming crude arm stumps. Incurving front and back. Featureless.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: -

Clay, pale orange-buff, self slip, fairly soft; 3.5cm. ext. ht.

No. 198 (Pl. 155)

From Knossos, House of the Sacrificed Oxen. Stratigraphical Museum

No. RV6 #1585

Unknown Sex

Posture: (lower half missing) probably Type 3 as above

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: cylindrical, with flared top and running straight into torso without demarcation. Pinched out nose leaving fine ridge and two large eye depressions, covering most of face.

Torso and Lower Half: cylindrical, with incurving back and flared base. Arms pulled out from upper torso with ends flattened forming projecting stumps.

Centre torso pressed in.

Dress: flattened but flaring hat rising up from head and tilted back with wider front brim.

Clay, pale orange-buff, fairly soft; 3.7cm. ext. ht.

J6 and J7

To these six figurines of the QQ3.I group may be added two more of identical form and attributes from the peak sanctuary of Juktas.<sup>73</sup>

Both are made of clay and measure 3.7cm. and 3.5cm. ht. respectively.

### VAS<sub>3</sub> (Fig 96d)

From Vasiliki<sup>74</sup> an additional figurine of this type group has been uncovered. This figurine differs only slightly in that the flared base is slightly drawn in, down the centre front thus suggesting the position of two legs beneath(?). The remaining features are as listed above.

### TYPE QQ3.II

No. 42 (Fig. 86)

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum No. 21933<sup>75</sup>

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: ?<sup>76</sup> Type 4(c)?

Head: cylindrical, with remnants of pinched out nose and inset clay pellets for eyes. Two small strips of clay added for ears. Head running into torso without demarcation. (Top half broken off.)

Torso and Lower Half: straight and cylindrical, flaring out at base.

Featureless. Strip of clay attached for arms, extending round back of torso. Hands formed by pressing down end of clay strips onto torso.

Dress: possible dress extending to ground, flaring at base and extending upwards at back of neck into wide, back collar.

Remnants of flattened but flared hat on top of head.

Clay, orange-buff, self slip, soft; 4.5cm. ext. ht.

### TYPE RR3 (No. 13)

No. 13 (Pl. 156)

From Kamilari. Herakleion Museum No. 15073

Unknown Sex (four identical figures in one model)

Posture: Type 4(b)

Gesture: Type 14

Head: oval, with pinched out nose and chin leaving slight eye depressions and ridge down centre of face. Circular pellets of clay applied for ears. Long, thick neck.

Torso: squarish, with long, slanting shoulders and sides narrowing at waist. Flattened profiles and featureless.

Lower Half: seated on stools with legs pulled forwards and down to ground at right angles, and in one block. Featureless.

Dress: long robe or gown extending to ground and pulling in lower legs. Figure on far left wearing a small conical cap (or possibly hair gathered in small bun

Clay, pale orange-buff, coarse and gritty.

TYPE SS3 (No. 105)

No. 105 (Pl. 157, Fig. 87)

From Petsopha. Herakleion Museum No. 3426

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 4(a) (lower legs missing)

Gesture: - (arms missing)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: rectangular, with slight incurving at waist. Horizontal shoulders (arms broken off). Featureless. Flattened profile.

Lower Half: seated on four-legged stool with legs pulled forwards at right angles to torso (lower legs broken off).

Indented seat of stool to fit shape of figure with buttocks slightly indicated below dress.



Dress: robe or gown extending to knees with lower legs once exposed. Traces of white paint on upper half with lower half painted dark brown to black.

Clay, orange-buff, traces of white and dark brown to black paint;  
6.5cm. ext. ht.

### TYPE TT3

From Mallia.<sup>77</sup> Herakleion Museum No. HM22.134 (Fig. 87)

(reconstructed from seven fragments)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 4(a)

Gesture: Type 15 (right arm broken off)

Head: triangular, with large, pointed chin held forwards and rounded-off crown. Large, pinched out nose and small, rounded pellets of clay applied for eyes. Right ear applied and extant only. Mouth indicated by incision. Thick neck.

Torso: squarish, with straight sides. Featureless except for small hole in back. Flattened profile. Crude, rounded right arm raised with hand resting on crown of head. Hand formed by depressing clay on to head and flattening. Left arm missing but probably in same position as indicated by direction of extant upper arm.

Lower Half: thick, rounded legs pulled forwards and hanging down below knees - in seated position. Buttocks protruding at back. Featureless with rounded-off feet stumps.

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, buff, traces of black paint; 7.8cm. ext. ht.

ZZ3: Heads

Following on from those heads attributed to the female sex, Type ZZ2, those heads of unknown sex are discussed here, under group ZZ3 with Roman numeral distinguishing each type. For methods of construction see under ZZ2 above.

TYPE ZZ3.I

From Maza. Herakleion Museum No. 9855(3) & 9865 (Pls 158-161)

Four heads in total, characterized by their triangular faces with pinched out nose and pronounced chin, leaving two large eye depressions. Two (9855(a) & (b)) have small pellets of clay applied and moulded for ears. All have remnants of wide open-bowl-shaped hats rising up from heads. Heads incline backwards. All clay, reddish-brown, soft; 9865 : 3.8cm. ht; 9855(a): 4.2cm. ht; 9855(b): 3.4cm. ht; 9855(c) 3.0cm. ht.

From Zakros. Siteia Museum No. 2821 (Pl. 162, Fig. 88)

Triangular face with pinched out nose and pronounced chin, leaving two large eye depressions covering most of face. Open bowl-shaped hat rising up from head, which is inclined backwards. Long neck. Clay, dull orange-red.

No. 203 (Pl. 163)

From Knossos. Herakleion Museum No. 14281

Spade-shaped face with rounded off chin, and pinched out nose leaving two eye depressions and clear brows. Mouth incised onto flattened area below nose. Open bowl-shaped hat extending up with straight sides all round. Inclined backwards.

Clay, reddish-buff, grey core, buff slip, traces of brown and white paint; 3.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE ZZ3.II (Fig. 88)

From Traostalos. Agios Nikolaos Museum - (no inv. number)<sup>78</sup>

Rounded head with pulled out and rounded chin and pinched-out nose leaving two large, and deep eye depressions inset with two, large pellets of clay.

Top of head slightly flattened, but featureless, and rounded back of head.

Clay, pale-orange buff, coarse and gritty; 4.5cm. ext. ht.

TYPE ZZ3.III

No. 69. (Pl. 164, Fig. 88)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14129

Moulded head with large, protruding, moulded nose and fine chin.

Two strips of clay applied for ears but oval eyes painted, and area around ears painted. Oval hat extending up from forehead in wide brim, with flattened back and narrow brim round base - inclining downwards to back of head.

Clay, pale buff, traces of white and black paint; 4.3cm. ht.

TYPE ZZ3.IV

No. 70 (Pl. 165, Fig. 89)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14127

Triangular face with pinched out and moulded nose and flattened mouth and chin area. Two eye depressions inset with two pellets of clay.

Tall open bowl-shaped hat pulled in at sides forming rounded peak at front and back and set forward on head. Hollow interior.

Clay, dull orange-buff, coarse and gritty; 4.5cm. ht.

TYPE ZZ3.V

No. 71 (Pl. 166, Fig. 89)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14181

Round head with small, pinched out nose and slight eye depressions inset with two holes. Two long strips of clay applied for ears. Three strips applied across top of head and three round back of head in alternate directions, possibly denoting locks of hair. Clay, pale orange-buff, coarse and gritty with brown, grey and black flecks; 3.0cm. ht.

No. 72 (Pl. 167)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14186

Round head on long, cylindrical neck. Pinched out nose and chin leaving two large eye depressions inset with small pellets of clay. Flat locks (strips of clay) extending from top of head forwards, with longer ones (now largely missing) extending down back of head and neck. Set on a tenon.

Clay, orange-buff, buff slip, coarse and gritty with grey and brown flecks; 6.5cm. ht.

TYPE ZZ3.VI

No. 73 (Pl. 168, Fig. 89)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14191

Round head on a long, cylindrical neck. Large and projecting pinched out nose and small, rounded chin. Two large, shallow eye depressions inset with small clay pellets. Ears pinched out from side of head. Tall, cone-shaped hat with band round base set on top of head. Clay, orange-buff, coarse and gritty; 6.1cm. ht.

No. 74 (Pl. 169)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14150

Oval, with a long, cylindrical neck. Nose pinched out to form large projection (or snout?). Two small pellets eyes applied. Irregular



hat hanging off back of head.

Clay, orange-buff, coarse and gritty, white and grey flecks; 7.5cm. ht.

TYPE ZZ3.VII

No. KN3 (Fig. 90)

From Knossos.<sup>79</sup>

Round face painted onto more square head curving in at neck. Eyes painted in small dots and oval nose applied. Short and flat, cylindrical hat with traces of red and black stripes. Short locks of hair coloured brown. Set on a tenon. Clay.

TYPE ZZ3.VIII

No. 75 (Pl. 170)

From Kophinas. Herakleion Museum No. 14218

Egg-shaped head with moulded chin, nose, brows and applied, oval eyes. Small applied and moulded ears. Small, horizontal strip on forehead possibly denoting fringe (?) - otherwise apparently bald. Clay, dull orange, traces of black paint, coarse and gritty; 5.0cm. ht.

TYPES ZZ3.IX - ZZ3.XXI

No. 138-150 (Pls. 120-131)

From Piskokephalo. (See Table 24 for details).

Unknown Sex.

PISKOKEPHALO HEADS: TABLE 24

NUMBER	FABRIC	PAINT	HAIR	SEX	NECK WIDTH	EXTANT HEIGHT	EXTANT WIDTH	HEAD-DRESS /HAT	FACIAL FEATURES
124 (HM 9732)	ORANGE CLAY (WITH SANDY FLECKS	-	CENTRE PARTING WITH THIN TRESSES IN FRONT & SIDES, FRAMING FACE. FOUR CURLY LOCKS HANG- ING DOWN AT BACK.	FEMALE	2.2cm.	7.2cm.	-	TWO-TIER THICK CIRCULAR HAT RISING UP ABOVE HEAD & ALLOWING HAIR TO COME OUT OF TOP.	INSET EYES AND DEVELOPED MOULD- ED EYEBROWS, THIN FINE NOSE (BRO- KEN) MOULDED MOUTH & CHIN. EARS BROKEN OFF.
125 (HM 9736)	PALE-BUFF CLAY, FAIRLY GRITTY (TINY FLECKS) + PALE- ORANGE BUFF SLIP	TRACES OF WHITE PAINT ALL OVER EXCEPT HAIR	APPLIED. MIDDLE PARTING WITH TRES- SES EITHER SIDE & SWEEP BACK FROM FACE IN WAVES. GATHERED UP IN BUN AT BACK	FEMALE	1.65cm.	7.5cm.	4.6cm.	THICK BAND SUPPORTING BUN	INSET EYES WITH TRACES OF PAINT. FINE NOSE, MOUTH AND CHIN.
126 (HM 9737)	PALE YELLOWISH CLAY, FAIRLY GRITTY (TINY FLECKS) + ORANGY- BUFF SLIP	AS ABOVE	AS ABOVE	FEMALE	1.8cm.	6.6cm.	4.7cm.	AS ABOVE	INSET EYES, POINTED FINE NOSE INDENTED MOUTH & MOULDED CHIN
127 (HM 9738)	ORANGY & GRITTY CLAY WITH PALE-ORANGE BUFF SLIP	MINUTE TRACES ON FACE	RECONSTRUCTED BUN. TRACES WHERE TRES- SES ONCE LAY ON TOP OF HEAD	FEMALE	1.65cm.	6.6cm.	3.8cm.	RECONSTRUCTED BAND	INSET EYES, FINE POINTED NOSE (WORN) INDENTED MOUTH & MOULDED CHIN

NUMBER	FABRIC	PAINT	HAIR	SEX	NECK WIDTH	EXTANT HEIGHT	EXTANT WIDTH	HEAD-DRESS /HAT	FACIAL FEATURES
128 (HM 9739)	BUFF-CLAY WITH PINKISH TINGE & PALE YELLOWISH BUFF SLIP (+ FLECKS)	-	APPLIED. MIDDLE PARTING WITH TRES- SES EITHER SIDE & SWEEP BACK FROM FACE IN WAVES. GATHERED UP IN BUN AT BACK	FEMALE	1.65cm.	7.0cm.	4.4cm.	THICK BAND SUPPORTING BUN	RECONSTRUCTED
129 (HM 9740)	PINKISH-BUFF, COARSE & GRITTY CLAY. YELLOWISH-BUFF SLIP.	TRACES OF WHITE PAINT ON FACE	AS ABOVE (TIGHTER & THINNER TRESSES)	FEMALE	1.65cm.	6.5cm.	3.7cm.	THINNER LARGE BAND - LARGELY WORN AWAY.	SLIGHTLY INSET EYES. FINE NOSE. CHIN-VERY WORN.
130 (HM 9741)	PALE ORANGY-BUFF FABRIC. FAIRLY GRITTY (TINY FLECKS). YELLOWISH BUFF SLIP.	TRACES OF WHITE PAINT ALL OVER EXCEPT HAIR	FRONT HAIR RECON- STRUCTED. INTRI- CATELY WOVEN BUN. APPLIED.	FEMALE	1.5cm.	6.4cm.	3.6cm.	THICK, WHITE BAND SUPPORT- ING BUN.	SLIGHTLY INSET EYES. NOSE BRO- KEN OFF. MOUTH INCISED. CHIN MOULDED.
131 (HM 9742)	PALE PINKISH-BUFF CLAY. GRITTY(WITH TINY FLECKS) YELLOWISH-BUFF SLIP	AS ABOVE	APPLIED. THIN TRESSES - NO CENTRE PARTING. BROKEN OFF AT BACK. SMALL BUN	FEMALE	1.65cm.	6.2cm.	3.9cm.	AS ABOVE	INSET EYES. FINE POINTED NOSE. INDENTED MOUTH. MOULDED CHIN.



NUMBER	FABRIC	PAINT	HAIR	SEX	NECK WIDTH	EXTANT HEIGHT	EXTANT WIDTH	HEAD-DRESS /HAT	FACIAL FEATURES
132 (HM 9743)	BUFF CLAY WITH ORANGE TINGE. VERY GRITTY (WITH GREY & BLACK FLECKS). SELF SLIP.	TRACES ON BAND WORN ELSEWHERE.	CENTRE PARTING WITH THIN INCIS- SIONS FOR HAIR GETTING THICKER TRESSES AT SIDES. SMALL BUN.	FEMALE	-	5.6cm.	3.8cm.	THICK WHITE BAND SUPPORT- ING BUN.	NOSE JUST VISIBLE AND EYES INSET - OTHER- WISE VERY WORN.
134 (HM 9731)	DARK REDDISH-BROWN COARSE & GRITTY CLAY. (WHITE & GREY & BLACK FLECKS). PALER REDDISH SLIP.	MINUTE TRACES ON LEFT OF FACE	CENTRE PARTING WITH THIN TRESSES EITHER SIDE AT FRONT. FOUR LONG CURLY LOCKS HANG- ING DOWN AT BACK. TWO SHORT LOCKS IN FRONT OF EARS.	FEMALE PROBABLY	2.1cm	8.3cm.	4.2cm.	HAT RESTING ON TOP OF HEAD CONSISTING OF TWO THICK CIR- CULAR DISCS.	LONG, FINE, MOULDED NOSE. EYES MOULDED WITH SLIGHT INCISIONS. MOUTH & CHIN MISSING. TWO LOOP EARS(?)
135 (HM 9744)	PALE ORANGE-BUFF CLAY. FAIRLY GRITTY WITH GREY & BLACK FLECKS. PALER BUFF SLIP WITH PINKISH TINGE	MINUTE TRACES ON FACE	CAN'T SAY	FEMALE PROBABLY	1.9cm.	7.6cm.	3.25cm	HIGH OPEN-BOWL SHAPED HAT RIS- ING UP FROM HEAD	SLIGHTLY INSET EYES. FINE POINTED NOSE. SLIGHT MOUTH INDENTATION. MOULDED CHIN.
136 (HM 9730)	ORANGY-RED CLAY. FEW SPORADIC GRITS. REDDISH-SLIP	-	CAN'T SAY - WORN	FEMALE PROBABLY	1.5cm.	4.5cm.	4.9cm.	CYLINDRICAL BAND OR HAT WITH CIRCULAR INCISION AT END & TWO ATTACHED	PRONOUNCED PINCHED-OUT NOSE WITH DEEP INSET AND ROUND AP- PLIED DISC-EYES,



NUMBER	FABRIC	PAINT	HAIR	SEX	NECK WIDTH	EXTANT HEIGHT	EXTANT WIDTH	HEAD-DRESS /HAT	FACIAL FEATURES
136 (cont.) (HM 9730)								BUTTONS ON RIGHT SIDE OF BUN	INDENTED MOUTH & POINTED CHIN.
137 (HM 9746)	PALE-ORANGE BUFF FABRIC (WITH BROWN, BLACK & GREY FLECKS)	TRACES OF WHITE PAINT ON FACE.	SMALL BUN AT BACK WITH FOUR CIRCULAR SMALLER BUNS? AROUND IT.	FEMALE PROBABLY	1.4cm.	4.1cm	2.8cm.	-	FINE, PINCHED, POINTED NOSE. DEEP, INSET EYES. SLIGHT MOUTH INDENT. MOULDED CHIN.
138 (HM 9719)	REDDISH-BROWN, COARSE & GRITTY CLAY WITH DULLER CORE (LARGE FLECKS)	-	- (VERY WORN)	CAN'T SAY	2.2cm.	5.7cm.	4.4cm.	-	LARGE PINCHED- OUT & MOULDED NOSE. LARGE IN- SET EYES. MOULD- ED CHIN.
139 (HM 9719)	REDDISH-BROWN (WITH ORANGE TINGES) CLAY. COARSE & GRITTY	TRACES OF WHITE PAINT ON FACE	SMALL TUFT AT FRONT WITH TWO HORIZONTAL AND 5 VERTICAL IN- CISIONS. SMALL BUN ON TOP WITH TWO LOCKS HANGING DOWN BACK AND ONE IN FRONT OF BOTH EARS.	CAN'T SAY	1.7cm.	5.25cm.	3.7cm.	-	LARGE PROTRUDING NOSE. BROW IN- CISIONS & SLIGHT EYE INDENTATIONS INCISED MOUTH & MOULDED CHIN.

NUMBER	FABRIC	PAINT	HAIR	SEX	NECK WIDTH	EXTANT HEIGHT	EXTANT WIDTH	HEAD-DRESS /HAT	FACIAL FEATURES
140 (HM 9721)	REDDISH-ORANGE HARD FABRIC (WITH FEW SCATTERED FLECKS) + SLIP	TRACES OF A DARK REDDISH-BROWN PAINT ON FACE	TUFT ON CROWN. PRODUCING THREE OR PROBABLY FOUR SHORT TRESSES	MALE PROBABLY	1.8cm.	5.65cm.	3.5cm.	-	LARGE MOULDED NOSE & INSET EYES CONTAINING CIRCULAR DISC EYES. MOUTH IN- DENTATION & MOULDED CHIN & EARS.
141 (HM 9723)	DARK REDDISH-ORANGE COARSE & GRITTY FABRIC	MINUTE TRACES OF DARK REDDISH-BROWN PAINT ON FACE	HAIR SWEEP BACK FROM FOREHEAD IN FIVE TRESSES WITH SLIGHT GATHERING AT CENTRE BACK	CAN'T SAY	2.0cm	3.55cm.	4.1cm.	-	PINCHED NOSE & SLIGHT INSET EYES. PROTRUDING CHIN & FLAT MOUTH AREA.
142 (HM 9748)	PALE-ORANGE BUFF FABRIC AND SLIP.	TRACES OF WHITE PAINT ON FACE AND ONE EYE AND RED PAINT ON HAT.	POSSIBLE BUNCH OF HAIR BELOW HAT AT BACK	CAN'T SAY (FEMALE?)	BROKEN OFF	4.1cm.	4.45cm	VERY CRUDE FLAT BOWL HAT WITH INCISIONS ALL ROUND BOTTOM EDGE	VERY MALFORMED LARGE LUMPY PRO- JECTION IN FRONT TWO DOT EYES? NO CHIN.
143 (HM 9714)	DARK REDDISH-BROWN CLAY AND SLIP	MINUTE TRACES OF RED PAINT ON FACE	- APPARENTLY BALD	CAN'T SAY (FEMALE?)	1.5cm.	4.5cm.	3.4cm	-	LARGE, MOULDED NOSE. INSET EYES SQUARISH CHIN.

NUMBER	FABRIC	PAINT	HAIR	SEX	NECK WIDTH	EXTANT HEIGHT	EXTANT WIDTH	HEAD-DRESS /HAT	FACIAL FEATURES
144 (HM 9717)	DARK BUFF-ORANGE, COARSE AND GRITTY CLAY	-	- APPARENTLY BALD	CAN'T SAY	BROKEN	4.3cm.	2.9cm	-	RESTORED NOSE. MOULDED & INCISED MOUTH, MOULDED CHIN.
145 (HM 9722)	PALE ORANGE-BUFF CLAY WITH PINKISH TINCE AND SLIP	MINUTE TRACES OF RED PAINT ROUND LEFT EYE	EIGHT TRESSES ROUND FRONT & SIDES OF HEAD AND THREE THINNER ONES EMANATING FROM CROWN	CAN'T SAY	BROKEN	4.1cm.	3.0cm.	-	PINCHED-OUT NOSE & CHIN. TWO SMALL PELLET EYES. ?POSSIBLE EAR PROJECTIONS
146 (HM 9747)	PALE-ORANGE BUFF GRITTY FABRIC (SMALL BROWN FLECKS)	MINUTE TRACES OF BROWNISH PAINT ON FACE	-	CAN'T SAY	1.2cm.	3.15cm.	2.35cm.	THREE SMALL DISCS ROUND FRONT AND TOP OF HEAD.	INSET EYES (ONCE PAINTED?) NOSE WORN. SLIGHTLY MOULDED CHIN. REMAINS OF ONE CIRCULAR EAR.
147 (HM 9724)	PALE-ORANGE BUFF GRITTY FABRIC - GREY CORE. PALE BUFF SLIP.	TRACES OF RED PAINT ON FACE.	-	MALE PROBABLY	2.0cm.	5.4cm.	4.3cm.	THICK TUBULAR BAND ROUND HEAD - KIND OF HAT?	LARGE PROJECTING AND MOULDED NOSE AND EARS. SLIGHT EYE INDENTATIONS. MOUTH & CHIN WORN





MALE TYPES

Sixteen types and varieties of male figurine have been identified from the total number studied from the Proto-palatial period. There remains a lot of material, however, which has not been studied, published or seen and for this reason it is difficult to evaluate the exact number of figurines from each type (and hence which type was most popular) or indeed, the exact number of types. From this sample however, it has been at least possible to establish certain types with particular forms and related attributes,<sup>80</sup> which may be added to in the future.

Of the nine basic types (and seven varieties) identified, three stand out quite clearly, and are well represented - Types AA2I-V, CC2I-III and DD2I-II (with many more examples of each type to be seen in the show-cases of the museums of Crete). Type AA2I, represented by one example from Juktas, is set apart from the remaining AA2 types by the fact that the figure appears to be naked (the penis hangs freely):<sup>81</sup> this is unusual for the representations of Minoan males who are more commonly depicted as wearing codpieces and/or loin cloths, as we shall see. The form of this male figure, however, is the first of a series of a very standard type, with its narrow, straight-sided and featureless torso, rounded arms, shoulders and legs which are all equally featureless. The sides of the body run straight down to the legs without interruption and no hands or feet are indicated. The head of this figure, individual in itself, reflects one of the standard methods of moulding a face and head: the nose is pinched out to a small beak leaving shallow eye depressions. Into these depressions two large pellets of clay have been inserted. Two small strips of clay have been added for the ears,

and moulded onto the rounded head.

Type AA2II, with two examples from Juktas, one from Kophinas and one from Traostalos, reveals the same long, featureless bodies running straight down into the legs without interruption, and rounded, featureless limbs. The main difference in these figures is that all show evidence of a codpiece. It is impossible to estimate their gestures other than being projecting arm stumps, since most are broken off or much worn. Their postures, with the exception of No. 43 from Kophinas, which appears to stand with legs apart, are not discernable as most of the legs no longer exist. No. 37 from Juktas shows evidence of red paint all over the body, which is the characteristic colour for painting male flesh.<sup>82</sup> No. 37 and No. *JI*, both from Juktas, still retain their heads: the former is more oval in shape and the latter triangular, with a peaked crown. Both show the same technique of moulding, with a pinched out nose and chin, leaving eye depressions, inserted in both cases with clay pellets of varying sizes. They all have flattened, featureless backs with convex or flat fronts, and are all small: none exceed 7cm. in height. The figurines from this type group were almost certainly made from one piece of clay (though the arms were probably attached separately and have broken off since) and were simply and crudely moulded, although some attention was given to facial detail.

The figurines of Type AA2III, although equally featureless (with the exception of codpiece attachments), are more sinuous in their outline, with the waists more drawn in and the hips and buttocks more rounded, giving more emphasis to the posterior. They have longer, rounded limbs and the gestures are more discernable.

Examples 89 and 91 have their elbows sharply bent with their hands to their chests and No. 90, also from Petsopha, shows the arms 'looped' round to the centre of the chest. No. 89 shows traces of dark reddish-brown paint on the body and No. 90 distinguishes the buttocks as they protrude from the waist. No. 230 from Zakros, is similar but much smaller and has a much more pronounced convex profile at front and back - its importance lies in the fact that it was found in a settlement context thus providing a link between the palace of Zakros and its nearby peak sanctuaries, to which the other examples of this type belong. The reason for the difference in outline of these figurines from Type AA2I and II lies in the method of construction which is an extremely important element in the resultant form of the figurines. These figurines are clearly made in two parts:<sup>83</sup> the legs were formed from one piece, and the upper part, which was modelled separately was pressed down onto the thighs, and a little in front, and the body clay smoothed downwards over the thighs in front. As the base of the torso was made narrower than the thigh width, and placed a little forwards, it had the effect of leaving rounded and prominent hips and buttocks when complete. The codpiece was then attached and helped secure the two parts. The arms and head would have been similarly attached onto the torso.

Type AA2IV reveals the same sinuous outline of the body with rounded limbs and attached codpiece. However, the figurines from this group show an increase in technique and modelling and greater sophistication. No. 108 and 110 from Piskokephalo, for example, show slight indications of pectoral muscles on the torso and creases on the undersides of the arms, as they bend. No. 112,



from Piskokephalo shows indications of moulded knees.<sup>84</sup> Nos. 157 and 158 from Traostalos, although cruder in form equally have an added note of realism. No 158, for instance, has well modelled and protruding buttocks and an enlarged codpiece. The torso has a drawn in waist and slight indications of pectoral muscles and possible ribs. The two remaining examples from Type AA2V, one from Maza and one from Zakros, are representative of the more featureless variations of this type group. They have long torsos, with slight incurving at the waist, but otherwise run straight down into the legs. They have crude codpiece attachments and look rather 'suspended' with legs held apart. They have more flattened profiles than the preceeding type AA2IV, but No. 76 does show moulding of the buttocks even though of a cruder nature.

Type CC2I and II are well represented though most of our examples come from Kophinas alone (fifteen of the eighteen figurines). The AA2 type group were from a variety of sites, though most, particularly AA2IV, came from one site again, namely Piskokephalo. Type CC2I is best characterized by its shorter and squarer dimensions and the wearing of a belt and codpiece attachment. The figurines of Type CC2II differ in their slightly more rectangular and elongated torsos, with some of these revealing an increased sophistication, and those of CC2III by a more triangular-shaped torso. The waists are rarely drawn in but run straight down into the legs, interrupted only by the belt. The body and limbs (where extant) are thickly moulded and rounded and mostly featureless: No. 44 of Type CC2I shows evidence for moulded buttocks as do Nos. 51 & 56 of Type CC2II, which are all from Kophinas. The examples from Type CC2I show a variety of thick and rounded belts and codpiece attachments, whereas examples from Type



CC2II reveal wider and flatter belts. No. 47 of Type CC2I has a thick neck piece attached and No. 92 is seated on a small, four-legged stool. All the figurines of this type group were almost certainly made in two pieces with the belts hiding and securing the juncture of the two halves. The one example from Type CC2III, No. 151 from Kophinas, still retains the tenon emerging from the base of the torso which would have been inserted into the lower half. Other examples would have been merely pressed down onto the hips and smoothed down before the belt was attached. The heads and arms would have been attached separately, and are now mostly broken off. Two heads still remain attached to the bodies of figurines: No. 52 from Kophinas of Type CC2II, and No. 151 from Petsopha of Type CC2III. The former is rounded with a moulded chin and the remains of one small clay pellet applied for the eye can still be seen, as well as a pudding basin hat worn on the crown of the head. This head clearly represents a different tradition from

the more common type of head reflected in the second example - No. 151 from Petsopha. The latter has the more commonly known pinched out nose and chin with large eye depressions and applied pellets of clay for the ears. On his head he wears a wide and flattened open bowl-shaped hat and he throws his head backwards. As many of the arms and legs were missing it was difficult to estimate the characteristic gestures and postures of this type group. In some cases arms were extant however, or the direction of the upper arms was sufficient to estimate the gesture. They were either held to the chest, or forwards in front of the body or projected out sideways. With regard to posture, the majority appear to have been upright, with a few seated examples still

evident.

The third most popular group of male figurines, Types DD2I & II, are those most commonly known and associated with the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha, following Myres' lengthy description of their forms.<sup>85</sup> Although not many examples are presented here, a great number, of varying sizes, may be seen in the Herakleion and Agios Nikolaos Museums of Crete. They have a sinuous outline, reminiscent of the examples seen in Type AA2III, with drawn in waists and rounded and protruding buttocks and hips. However the examples from this type stand more erect in their upper halves whilst their lower halves reveal 'bowed' legs or slightly flexed knees. They reveal, for the most part, a very characteristic gesture: namely Type 2(a), (b) or (c) with elbows raised and forearms held to the chest tautly with clenched fists resting on the chest, meeting in the centre, or held to the side of the chest. Their heads tend to be small and rounded with pinched out noses and chins leaving eye depressions. They carry either a small, rounded cap on the top of the head, or three rounded discs set along the median from the forehead to the back of the neck, or have a short lock of hair emitted from the top of the head (see examples No. 58 from Kophinas; No. 94 from Petsopha and No. 38 from Juktas). Around their waists they wear a thick belt and codpiece attachment and carry, almost horizontally a large, triangular-bladed dagger with a very broad base. The hilt is also triangular and has a distinct pommel and often two rivet heads on the juncture of the blade and hilt. Examples No. 93 and 94, from Petsopha, show two vertical hangings coming down from underneath the dagger (perhaps coming from the belt), and No. 93 a short kilt painted in white and ankle boots, also painted in white. The rest of the body

is painted in a dark reddish-brown colour. The kilt is sometimes attached in relief as in example *J4* from Juktas.<sup>86</sup> This latter example, however, has no dagger but an elaborate knot and hangings as well as the codpiece superimposed onto the kilt. No. 38 from Juktas shows clear evidence of how the clay of the head piece was smoothed on over the torso and thus attached to the body. In this case no attempt has been made to hide the juncture. A smaller example was found in the palace of Mallia of this type, though only the upper half is extant and that very worn, leaving a rounded, featureless head. The form of the torso is the same as the above examples, with the one extant left arm held to the chest with its rounded elbow raised.

Type DD2II, represented by one example only from Petsopha, is extremely similar to the examples of DD2I except that the waist is not drawn in. Instead the torso is wide and square with sides running straight down into the legs, interrupted by a thick but narrow belt and short kilt. The belt ties on the right hand side and the codpiece is revealed by means of a protrusion beneath the kilt. The arms, although rounded and similar, reveal a different gesture: Type 5(b)i with the right arm held to the chest and the left arm hanging loosely down the side of the body. It does show however, similar 'bowed' legs and the head is characteristic of this type, as described above.

The remaining male types, BB2, EE2-II2, are represented by two examples each at the most. The figurines of Type EE2, represented by one example from Juktas and one from Traostalos, are really more 'mature' renditions of Type DD2I and II, showing a great deal of naturalism and careful moulding. In both examples only the section from



the waist to the knees is preserved. No. 39 from Juktas reveals a narrow, thick belt tying on the right side leaving two hangings, over a short kilt. The codpiece is set low and emerges from the base of the kilt - the latter falling lower at the back. The hips and thighs are rounded and thickly moulded. No. 160 appears to wear a short kilt which only covers the buttocks leaving the codpiece exposed in the front, superimposed onto well rounded and thickly moulded legs. The two examples from Type GG2, one from Kophinas and one from Traostalos, are altogether more crude. Both have long, featureless torsos slightly incurved at the waist and well rounded legs that are set apart: No. 60 from Kophinas, appears to have very 'bowed' legs whereas No. 161 from Traostalos appears to 'hang' with legs suspended and set apart. In both cases the arms are held to the side of the chest. No. 60 has short, loopy arms and featureless, flattened hands and No. 161 has high, angular elbows and curved forearms. The head of No. 60 is rather unusual with a pinched out nose and two large eye depressions covering most of the face. On top of the head six strips of clay have been attached running from the forehead to the back with six further strips at the lower back of the head - probably denoting hair.

Type HH2, represented by one lower half of a male from Piskokephalo may be one of many examples found on this site which can be matched with the torsos of type AA2IV from Piskokephalo. The waist is well drawn in leaving large, rounded hips and buttocks. The knees and shins are well modelled and a rectangular flap hangs in front and at the back extending from the waist to the knees and covering the protruding codpiece.<sup>87</sup>



Type II2, represented by one example from Petsopha, is of great interest in that all its attributes are painted in, in white, including facial features, codpiece, kilt and necklace with hanging pendant. The sides of the torso only slightly curve in, leaving a fairly wide, rectangular shape.

Finally, Type FF2 is represented by a crudely modelled miniature (3.4cm. height), with a straight-sided torso running down into the legs and only interrupted by a large thick belt with two hangings on the right side. The extant left leg curves forwards to the front and the right upper arm curves round to the chest.

Until the time comes when all the unpublished figurines from each site are published, it will be impossible to claim for certain that one type is more popular than another. What is evident, however, is that certain sites revealed characteristic type(s) of their own, whilst other sites accumulated a combination of these and/or additional types. As most of the figurines from this period were located on peak sanctuary sites most of our knowledge relates to these contexts. The site of Petsopha is best represented by Type Groups AA2III, DD2I and II; Kophinas by types CC2I and II, and Piskokephalo by types AA2IV and HH2 (the latter belonging to one of the torsos of type AA2IV). Apart from Piskokephalo, which produced figurines of a very distinct and individual nature, the other two sites contained examples of more than one type than that characteristic to them. The remaining peak sanctuaries and settlements to produce figurines revealed examples of a number of different types. Two reasons may be suggested for this, both possibly connected: firstly that there is a difference in date, with those from Piskokephalo, for example, dated to MMIB or II

and those from Petsopha and Kophinas to MMIA. Most peak sanctuaries were in use from EMIII to MMIII at least, so figurines may belong to a variety of periods within this time span. Secondly, different craftsmen may have predominated in different areas of Crete. To prove the former point is difficult, as we have few pure stratified deposits from peak sanctuaries. That there were different craftsmen from different areas that produced figurines is quite likely, but also difficult to prove. It suggests that those sites where a number of different types were found were visited by people from different areas, and those producing only one type were local sanctuaries of a particular community. Unfortunately there are too few examples from settlement contexts to demonstrate this fact with certainty, but it must remain a possibility. Where figurines have been located in settlements it is interesting to note that although examples may be paralleled they tend to be of much cruder workmanship (e.g. Zakros).

TABLE 21  
LOCATION +

NATURALISTIC MALE TYPES FOR THE PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	AA2 <i>I</i>	AA2 <i>II</i>	AA2 <i>III</i>	AA2 <i>IV</i>	AA2 <i>V</i>	BB2	CC2 <i>I</i>	CC2 <i>II</i>	CC2 <i>III</i>	DD2 <i>I</i>	DD2 <i>II</i>	EE2	FF2	GG2	HH2	II2	
AGIOS KYRILLOS										1							1
JUKTAS	1	2								2		1					6
KOPHINAS		1					7	8		1			1	1			19
MALLIA										1							1
MAZA					1			1									2
PETSOPHA			3				1			2	1					1	8
PISKOKEPHALO				6											1		7
PORTI						1											1
PRINIAS									1								1
TRAOSTALOS		1		2								1					5
ZAKROS			1		1												2
TOTALS	1	4	4	8	2	1	8	9	1	7	1	2	1	2	1	1	52
			19			1		18		8		2	1	2	1	1	52

### FEMALE TYPES

The female types of the Proto-palatial period presented far more problems in their categorization than the male types of the same period. This is reflected in Tables 21 and 22 where it can be seen that although the presented sample of females is smaller than that of the males there are more individual types in the former. From a group of fifty-two male figurines there were nine major types (with seven varieties), and of forty female figurines there were thirteen major types (with six varieties) identified. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say what proportion of males to females existed on each site. From this sample alone, with examples from a range of sites the indications are that there was a far greater range of types amongst the females, and within each type, greater variation of attributes. In terms of Attribute (1) - (a) Posture and (b) Gesture - there were in fact less instances of variety than amongst the males though in both cases many have missing arms and legs. Most variation is concentrated on Attribute (2) - heads, torsos and lower halves - and connected with this, but more particularly, there is great emphasis on variety of dress (i.e. Attribute (3)), and it is this factor that is most striking amongst the female figurines.

Coupled with the above points is the method of construction of female figurines, which lends itself to the type of varieties in question.<sup>88</sup> The bell-shaped lower halves so characteristic of the Minoan female - seen as part of her dress or skirt - can be found in a variety of forms: a hollow wheel-made structure, or hand moulded and either pulled in at the sides making it

X



wider and flatter, or moulded in a variety of other ways. As with the males, their torsos are separately moulded and fixed into the lower half either by a tenon at the base of the torso, or by smoothing the body clay over the surface of the skirt directly. On to their torsos are added the heads and arms, with their junctions similarly smoothed over. To help hide these junctures, bodices, belts and breasts were then added. All of these additions came in a variety of forms, with the breasts nearly always exposed. Surmounted on their heads came the head-dresses and/or hats, also showing a number of different styles. Finally, inside the hollow interior of the skirt, legs and feet were occasionally added, though many remained without.

One of the best known types of female figurines, fairly well represented in this sample, with many more to be seen in the museums of Herakleion and Agios Nikolaos are Types JJ2.I and II.<sup>89</sup> They are most commonly associated with the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha though, here, we have similar examples from Juktas, Maza,<sup>90</sup> Xerokampos and a fragment of one from the Palace of Zakres. They are characterized by their short, cylindrical torsos flaring into bell-shaped skirts (often wheelmade as in example No. 97) surmounted by a high bodice leaving the breasts exposed and having a high, peaked collar at the back of the neck which either curves upwards or projects outwards and backwards. On their heads they wear a variety of hats: No. 97 from Petsopha, wears a tall tongue-shaped hat attached to the top and back of the head and sweeping forwards in a high curve and with recurved edges leaving a shallow bowl on the interior. No. 40 from Juktas shows the remnants of a wide open bowl-shaped hat projecting

out and up from the head and tilting forwards. No. 79 of Type JJ2II, from Maza has more of a conical-shaped hat rising up from the head and with a hollow interior. No. 97 is additionally important for the light it sheds on the painted decoration of these figurines. The skirt is painted black with white diagonal lines in sets of three, set in alternate directions across it and the hat is painted black but with thick, white, horizontal bands across it. The torso is black with a white band just below the breasts, and a further white band encircles the base of the skirt. The eyes and eyebrows have been painted in black with traces of white paint still visible on the face. No. 40, from Juktas, is almost identical except that the face has been pinched out at the nose, leaving two eye depressions inserted with two small clay pellets and the mouth is indented. No. 84 from Maza and No. 235 from Zakros, although of similar type, do not reveal breasts - possibly denoting that they are covered by the bodice. No. 79, from Maza, is especially notable in that the figure is almost in a sitting position in the skirt, thus providing greater stability for the body when inserted into the skirt. In addition the thighs of the two legs are extant indicating that the whole body with the legs was inserted into the skirt. No. 98 of Type KK2 from Petsopha still retains the same moulded head, well tilted back and the bodice rising up to a peak at the back of the neck. The arms are raised and held forwards away from the body meeting in the centre front at the level of the chin (in an almost modern-day attitude of prayer). However the extant torso is quite different: the front is almost concave and featureless and the back flattened with slight incurving again, giving a very

thin profile.

Type LL2 represents more of a departure from the preceding types, with a final and faint attempt at a small peaked collar creeping up the back of the neck, vertically. The torso is still cylindrical but much longer with sides narrowing to the waist and two rounded breasts are set high and framed by the two arms. The head is still moulded in the same fashion but is more triangular in shape with a pointed chin. She wears a wide open bowl-shaped hat extending out from the head and pulled in slightly at the sides giving a rounded 'peaked' effect in front and behind. The torso is generally in much better proportion with the lower bell-shaped skirt, and has a distinct waist-line.

Types NN2I and II, although only represented by eight examples in total, constitute here a major type group with many more examples showing a variety of attribute combinations in the Herakleion and Agios Nikolaos Museums. These types can almost be paralleled with Types CC2I and II of the male figurines of this period in that their torsos are characterized by their shorter and squarer dimensions. The breasts are still exposed and are characteristically formed with two small pellets of clay applied irregularly onto the torso. The latter have much flatter profiles, in some cases with a convex front, straight-sided waists sometimes narrowing slightly, and no longer show the peaked collar at the back of the neck. Where they are extant, they wear a variety of thick, single and double belts round their waist, tied at the side or in the centre, partly decorative and partly hiding the juncture of torso and lower half. No. 162 from Traostalos wears a thick



belt that hangs down the left side of the body in a loop without being tied. No. 100, from Petsopha, wears a thick double belt that ties in the front and hangs down the centre of the skirt. The head of No. 162 is moulded in much the same fashion as the other types and wears a large open bowl-shaped hat on her head. No. 36 from Arvi, shows a much more rounded head with two large pellets of clay inserted into shallower depressions. It apparently never wore a hat and has two pellets of clay attached for ears.<sup>91</sup> No. 162 from Traostalos has very large eye depressions covering most of the face and leaving a pointed nose and chin ridge. Also notable in this figurine is the fact that the hands are indicated with crude finger imitations. No. 101 from Petsopha, the upper part of a torso only, is notable for the fact that it is double-sided - that is, breasts are indicated on both sides of the torso. On one side smaller, rounded pellets of clay have been applied and on the other more conical-shaped pellets. The arms, united at the shoulder are then looped round to the front on either side and held just below the breasts. No. 153 of Type NN 2II from Prinias, has much the same form although the arms and chest are more thickly moulded and more rounded, and the breasts are rendered by two irregularly shaped pieces of clay applied onto the torso and pressed in only at the top. This gives the effect of 'hanging' off the torso.

Type PP2, represented by one example from Chamaizi, follows on in much the same tradition as Types NN2I and II, but with various modifications and/or additions. The torso which inclines backwards continues to be fairly square and flat with gently sloping and rounded shoulders and arms curving round to the front and



raised in much the same way as No. 98 of Type KK2. The figure gives the appearance of being more solid and heavy, and has two large, conical breasts applied evenly onto the torso. The sides narrow slightly at the waist, the latter of which has a wide band around it. The skirt is hardly flared at all, but has been pulled in on each side producing a long, thin pleat down the length of the skirt, and has a flattened front and concave back. The head of the figure is altogether different: the nose and chin are carefully moulded and two moulded strips of clay have been carefully applied for the ears. The eyes consist of two large discs and the hat is similar to a flattened beret resting on top of the head.

Type QQ2 is best characterized by the examples' rather small, crude and featureless torso with equally crude and rounded arms. Their lower halves, meanwhile, appear to represent the figure 'in movement'. A three dimensional object, is, by its very nature, static but these figures, whilst retaining a static torso and gesture maintain a more active lower half. This motion is rendered by giving the bell-shaped skirts a wavy and irregular appearance. The sides of the skirt are pulled out to form pleats leaving either one depression in the centre of the skirt (No. 81) or two (Nos. 103 and 104) with the middle pulled out. The back is very rounded as if the buttocks are protruding, and the front retains a 'wavy' contour whilst the base is a wide, irregular shape. The waists tend to be drawn in tightly, giving more emphasis to the protruding posteriors with incurving backs coming down from the already peaked collars projecting out from the back of the neck. Nos. 103 and 104 from Petsopha both have

crudely moulded legs inserted into the hollow skirts. No. 102, from Petsopha, differs only in that the wavy front has become a large, square block attached to the front of the skirt and extending out at the sides, though not exceeding the height of the waist vertically. Figure No. 154, from Prinias, the only example of Type SS2, reveals this same effect of 'motion'.

Here the centre of the skirt has been pressed in so that the sides of the skirt curve round and out, whilst the back is rounded. The torso of this figure, however, is heavily moulded with two large and exposed breasts. An apron or shawl is worn on the torso and the upper skirt and applied by pressing down the edges and leaving light incisions all the way round.

Type RR2 is represented by one example from Knossos, No. 199, and is similar in form and construction to the figurines of Type NN2I. However, the torso shows no indications of breasts but instead is painted white, which is recognised as being the colour used for female flesh. The waist is fairly wide and rounded with a convex profile and the sides flare out to form the bell-shaped skirt. The skirt itself is painted black/dark brown with sets of two red, vertical lines interspersed with thick, white crosses. Around the waist is a thick, rounded double belt which hangs down the front of the skirt in a V-shape.

Types TT2I-IV contain, in total, the largest number of female figurines from this sample, constituting 25% of the total number and seven of these nine figurines come from Piskokephalo. They are characterized by their longer and more rectangular torsos with sides narrowing slightly to the waist, their broad, rounded shoulders and their almost 'tubular' arms (Nos. 116 and 117 of

Type TT2I and No. 111 of Type TT2IV). They have fairly thick and rounded profiles with convex back and fronts and usually small pellets of clay applied to the torso for breasts. No. 119 of Type TT2III, from Piskokephalo retains the shape of the torso but the breasts are larger and more conical (and moulded) and the stomach projects out steeply in front, as if denoting pregnancy. The three examples from Type TT2IV, Nos. 120, 121 and 122, all from Piskokephalo, differ only in that the torso is covered in a long-sleeved jacket with a wide and deep V-shaped opening in the front exposing only the edges of the breasts, and leaving a more rounded profile in front. No. 116 and No. 117 of Type TT2I retain the tenon at the base of the torso which was inserted into the lower half. The arms of this type group appear to be predominantly bent at the elbow with the forearms held up to the breasts. In example No. 118 of Type TT2II the arms are looped around to the front and rest in the centre of the chest and in No. 118 of TT2IV the hands rest actually on the breasts. Platon,<sup>92</sup> in his description of the female figurines from the site of Piskokephalo, identified a very characteristic gesture associated primarily with this site - namely the right hand is carried towards the left shoulder bending across the chest and resting on the shoulder and the left arm is carried diagonally across the waist to the opposite hip. A very crude but similar representation may be seen in example No. 106 of Type WW2, from Petsopha - here the right arm does not reach the left shoulder but rests just below the chin.

Type UU2 can be regarded, perhaps, as representing the most naturalistic group of female figurines in this sample. They have



thick, well moulded and elongated torsos and the breasts, although still applied onto the torso are carefully worked into the body. Their waists only slightly curve in and, in examples No. 68 from Kophinas and No. 200 from Knossos,<sup>93</sup> a thick, double belt is worn around the waist, in both cases, mostly broken off. The moulding and uneven surface of the torsos give an effect of realism unlike the types met with so far. The male figurines, it will be remembered, also contained a type, EE2, represented by two examples regarded as more 'mature' renditions of Types DD2I and II because of the attempt at realism reflected in their well moulded body fragments. In the latter case one was from Juktas the other from Traostalos.

Types VV2 and XX2 are represented by one example each. No. 167 from Traostalos of Type VV2 has a short, straight-sided torso narrowing at the waist and a large tenon emerging from the base of the torso. The arms are looped round to the front, the right hand carried towards the left shoulder and the left meeting the forearm of the first. Interestingly enough, Platon<sup>94</sup> identifies this gesture as characteristic of the male figurines only at Piskokephalo, but this example from Traostalos is clearly female with large, conical breasts visible below the arms. In addition she has an elaborate hairstyle framing the face in front and looped round the back in two folds and finally tied up in a bun at the back of the head. The face has a well moulded nose and chin with a thick neck below.

No. 226 of Type XX2, from Phaistos is unique - if only for its elaborate painted decoration. The torso is small and rectangular with straight sides and the arms curved round to the front



of the body. Onto the torso has been painted a short-sleeved red jacket open at the front, leaving the breasts exposed. The exposed area of the body is painted white with red straps painted across and round the breasts and a red necklace with blueish-grey pendants hanging from it in front. Around the waist at the base of the torso are traces of black paint.

#### Type Y: Skirts

Few of the figurines studied are whole: most represent torsos, or other parts of the body. During the course of this research a number of skirts were identified but as they do not constitute a part of the human body but a decorative addition to it, it was decided to place them under Type YY2 with varieties labelled *I*, *II*, *III*, etc. Some may be closely linked to torsos of types that have already been established, whilst others remain isolated examples.

No. 168 from Traostalos, representing the only example of Type YY2*I* is a wide and hollow bell-shaped skirt which has been pulled in at the sides into a triple pleat but still retains a rounded back and front. Around the top of the skirt is wrapped a wide sash or belt which descends down in the front with an additional longer piece that hangs down the centre front in a longer, narrower loop. At the top is an elaborate knot tied in the centre. No. 123 of Type YY2*II* may certainly be associated with the torsos of Type TT2*I* and *IV*, from Piskokphalo.<sup>95</sup> It has a flat back but rounded front with a triple pleat down either side adjacent to the flattened back. Many other examples of this type of skirt may be seen at the Herakleion Museum. They are thick and heavy objects

TABLE 22

LOCATION +

NATURALISTIC FEMALE TYPES FOR THE PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	JJ2 <i>I</i>	JJ2 <i>II</i>	KK2	LL2	NN2 <i>I</i>	NN2 <i>II</i>	PP2	QQ2	RR2	SS2	TT2 <i>I</i>	TT2 <i>II</i>	TT2 <i>III</i>	TT2 <i>IV</i>	UU2 <i>I</i>	UU2 <i>II</i>	VV2	WW2	XX2	
AVRI					1		1													1
CHAMAIZI																				1
JUKTAS	1	1																		2
KALAMAKI				1																1
KNOSSOS									1						1	1				3
KOPHINAS															1					1
MAZA	2							1												3
PETSOPHA	1		1	1	2			3										1		9
PHAISTOS																			1	1
PISKOKEPHALO											2	1	1	3						7
PRINIAS					2	1				1										4
TRAOSTALOS					2						1	1					1			5
XEROKAMPOS	1																			1
ZAKROS	1																		,	1
TOTALS	7		1	2	8		1	4	1	1	9	3			3		1	1	1	40

and may be mould-made - their regularity in form certainly points to this. Type YY2III comprises an example from Prinias, No. 155. It represents a long, almost oblong skirt slightly flaring at the base, with a long, diagonal fold across it carrying light incisions right down it and on a band round the bottom edge of the skirt. It is completely solid with a narrow projection at the top where it probably once fitted into the torso. A variety of other skirts from Prinias may be seen in the Agios Nikolaos Museum.<sup>96</sup> One has four pleats running down the length of the skirt in front rendered by applying strips of clay, whilst another, of more irregular outline and narrower bell-shape, has its three pleats formed by pulling out the clay into long, fine ridges vertically down the skirt.

#### ZZ2: Heads

A large proportion of the figurines and torsos discussed were without heads, and where they were extant they were described under Attribute 2. In tables 6, 8 and 9 giving a summary of the sex and preservation of figurines from three peak sanctuaries, Kophinas, Piskokephalo and Traostalos respectively, it may be seen that heads constituted a large part, if not the majority, of fragments of figurines found at these sites. As they comprise such an individual and varied part of the body for which we have more limited information, separate female heads are grouped here under Type ZZ2 with Roman numerals distinguishing each type. There appear to be four basic methods of construction:

(a) The shape of the head and neck are first moulded into oval or rounded forms on thick or thin necks. The nose and chin are



pinched out to form a long thin ridge with, perhaps, a slight indentation for the mouth. This leaves two eye depressions of varying depths according to how hard the fingers are pressed in on either side of the ridge. Into the depressions two small clay pellets may be inserted and two further pellets or strips of clay applied for the ears. Hair and/or a hat may be applied separately.

(b) As above except that the nose only is pinched out and slightly moulded. The chin is pulled down from the shape of the head and the area around the mouth is flattened. The eye depressions are shallow and clay pellets may be inserted. Alternatively two pierced holes may be made for the eyes and the mouth indicated with a light, horizontal incision. Hair and/or a hat may be applied separately.

(c) The head and face are moulded with features rendered plastically showing eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth. Hair and/or a hat may be applied and moulded separately.

(d) The head and face are moulded although the nose is pinched out. There are no eye depressions and large discs or clay pellets are applied for eyes. Hair and/or a hat may be applied separately.

The examples from Kophinas, ZZ2VII and VIII, bear a close resemblance to the heads from the other peak sanctuaries for which we have seen examples still attached to their torsos - Petsopha and Juktas for instance. The heads from Piskokephalo reveal a quite new sophistication, however, in the modelling of both facial features and the hair. The most commonly found type is ZZ2II (nine from a sample of twenty-seven heads) with the hair tied up in a high bun and gathered in by a thick, wide band. Twice as



many heads from the sample studied from Piskokephalo (eighteen from a total of twenty-seven) were individual types, and many of these of a much cruder nature than Type ZZ2II. In construction the former had the more characteristic pinched out nose and chin with eye depressions. The modelling of facial features witnessed in Type ZZ2II, and their predominance on the site of Piskokephalo, may suggest evidence for one particular workshop. This is further confirmed by the individual nature of many of the remaining examples from the same site, perhaps made or commissioned by individuals from one or more of the surrounding communities. Alternatively the sophistication witnessed in the modelling of features of Type ZZ2II may attest to a later date of their making, as already suggested with reference to figurines found on Piskokephalo earlier in this chapter. This type of standardization in the moulding of heads, in particular, is not peculiar to Piskokephalo alone, however. In table 9, Chapter 5, the sex and preservation of figurines from Traostalos was reviewed. The majority of fragments from this site appeared to be heads and many of these had a large number of reliefs (as indicated by the number in the brackets following the museum catalogue number). This would certainly indicate mass production on a local scale and perhaps individual workshops. It is unfortunate that none of these heads were studied by the author and their exact location and stratigraphy are unknown.

For those heads which retained part or all of their bodies we saw a variety of hats. No. 97 of Type JJ2I for example, from Petsopha, wore a tall, tongue-shaped hat attached to the top and back of the head and sweeping forwards in a high curve and with

recurved edges leaving a shallow bowl on the interior, whereas the face was similar to ZZ2VII though more rounded and with a larger nose. No. 99 of Type LL2, from Petsopha, wore a large open bowl-shaped hat set slightly forward on the head, and with the sides slightly pulled in leaving a rounded 'peaked' impression at front and back. No. 187, of Type PP2 from Chamaizi, wore a flat beret type hat with a thick, rounded edge in front. Here the face had a well moulded nose and chin with large, circular discs applied for the eyes. No. 40, of Type JJ2I from Juktas, wore a large and wide open-bowl hat similar to Type ZZ2VIII from Kophinas, except that it was made from one piece of clay: this represents one of the most common types of hat from this period.

The range of different hats and head-dress presented here helps illustrate the fact that female figurines contained far more variation in detail and had more attention and time spent on them in their construction, than the male figurines of the same period. Undoubtedly this is a reflection of the fashion of the time and what was favoured in different areas. The Minoan woman undoubtedly took great care over her appearance and had a wide variety of choice at her disposal. In addition the evidence provided by heads gives us greater confirmation of the existence of individual workshops serving particular peak sanctuaries. If these workshops did exist they are more likely to have been operating within the larger palace centres. Many more types represented by only one example would have been produced alongside the major groups, by individuals from the same centres or other outlying communities who also visited the same sanctuaries.

Many more types of female figurine with a number of variations in attributes would undoubtedly emerge if all the figurines were made available for study. As with the male figurines of this period, the analysis of this sample has at least helped establish the existence of certain types with varying attribute combinations. The peak sanctuaries yielded the majority of figurines from this period. In addition they contained a greater cross-section of female to male types with particular ones predominating in certain sites. Piskokephalo yielded not only a distinct male type but a female counterpart, Type TT2I and its variations III-IV. Type JJ2I, most commonly associated with Petsopha, was also seen to exist at Maza, Juktas, Xerokampos and most notably from the palace of Zakros. The remaining settlement sites yielded types unique to themselves though not totally dissimilar to other types from peak sanctuaries. Type PP2, for example, from Chamaizi, showed many similarities with Types NN2I and II, but with a number of modifications, as did RR2 (from Knossos) and XX2 (from Phaistos).

One of the major factors to be high-lighted in the female group of figurines is that they show greater variety not only in basic form but in detail too, most particularly in Attribute 3: dress, manifested in the variety of bell-shaped skirts, in the head-dresses and not least in the other decorative attachments like belts. In terms of gesture the female figurine revealed a slightly smaller range of types than the males with some overlap between the two, particularly where the arms are bent at the elbow and held to the chest. Amongst the male figurines it is commonly found that the hands rest on the chest, or at the side or in the

centre, whereas women hold their hands predominantly below the breasts or across them. Nos. 121 and 122 of Type TT2IV from Piskokephalo, however, reveal both females, with their hands on the breasts. A greater proportion of female figurines hold their arms forwards in front of their bodies, either straight, or curving round in front of the breasts, or bent at the elbow with forearms tilting up, or with the arms curved round and hands touching at chin level. This was the case in eight of the thirteen types. Types TT2I and II, with examples predominantly from Piskokephalo, revealed a gesture where one arm crossed over the chest to the opposite shoulder with the other arm crossed over the waist to the opposite hip. A cruder version of this can be seen on an example from Petsopha.



HERMAPHRODITES

Only nine figurines have been identified as hermaphrodite within the Proto-palatial period. Within these, those belonging to types BB3-EE3 show clear indications of both male and female sex organs (that is, both breasts and penis/codpiece). The two examples from Chamaizi, No. 159 and 160 of Type AA3 indicate only breasts but clearly imitate male forms (notably Type AA2III) associated with the peak sanctuary sites. Their heads too resemble those of males rather than the females found from this period. For this reason they have been identified as hermaphrodite. Type BB3 is represented by four figures standing with arms linked and set on a circular platform who are clearly depicted as naked dancers perhaps at the point of commencing a dance (their legs are set tightly together so they cannot be representing dancers 'in action') or at the end of it. They are identical in form but vary slightly in size and three wear small, conical caps with curved tips on the top of their heads (the fourth may be broken off).

The example of Type CC3, No. 12 from Kamilari, is also part of a model set on a circular platform. Here the crudely modelled hermaphrodite with large, modelled breasts and penis is naked and bends over a table apparently in the process of a task. Opposite are the extant legs of another figure (perhaps another hermaphrodite?) and in the doorway structure behind the figure is a small figure of indistinguishable sex.

Types DD3 and EE3, represented by one example each, are both thickly moulded with large features. No. 113 of Type EE3, from Piskokephalo, is reminiscent of Female Type UU2 with its long

and well moulded, rectangular torso, slightly incurving at the waist. Here a codpiece is attached so the figure is not completely naked. Type DD3 No. 159 from Traostalos wears a codpiece which is part of a wide sash or belt extending upwards to just below the breasts and downwards at the back, covering the buttocks. The small, conical breasts are just visible below the arms. Unusual in this figure is the modelling of the knees, pinched out in the same fashion as the large eyes on the head.

This group of figurines is small but constitutes a source of great interest and perplexity in terms of interpretation - particularly those that are part of a complete model. This will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

UNKNOWN SEX

The figurines from this group can be clearly divided between (a) those where evidence is not sufficient to reveal the sex but could belong to any one of the male, female or hermaphrodite groups and (b) those where no attempt was made to indicate the gender of the figurines.

The more numerous and indeed the most important are from category (b) represented by Type FF3, GG3I and II, HH3, QQ3I-II, RR3 SS3 and TT3. From category (a), the remaining types are represented by one example with the exception of Types NN3 and PP3, which have two examples each: for these close parallels can be found with male types of this period but cannot be attributed with any certainty. No. 49 from Kophinas of Type II3, for example, is similar to the male Type CC2I with its shorter and squarer dimensions, straight sides and rounded arms. This figure, however, shows no indications of male organs, codpiece or loincloth or alternatively breasts: it clearly indicates the buttocks and an incision in front to separate the legs but no other features are visible and it wears a jacket covering the torso completely. No. 115 from Piskokephalo of Type JJ3, has a similarly formed torso to examples of the male Type CC2II group although this one is cruder - the shoulders are less well formed and the arms are thin strips of clay looped round to the chest. One cannot say with any certainty, however, whether it can be attributed to this male group. The two examples from Type NN3, Nos. 64 and 65 from Kophinas may be paralleled with the male Type AA2IV group with a more triangular-shaped torso - maintaining the broad, rounded, near horizontal shoulders and narrowing sharply to the waist. This

may then have enlarged into rounded, protruding hips and buttocks with a codpiece attached to it. However we have no further evidence to support this and in both cases the dimensions are smaller and cruder and the profiles more flattened. No. 67 from Kophinas of Type PP3 is unusual: its torso is rectangular with straight sides and cut down its centre is a deep and wide opening. There is no clear indication that the figure wears a bodice or a jacket that is intended to be represented as 'prised open' or whether the swelling of the torso is representative and/or inclusive of breasts. It is possible, alternatively, that the opening represents the focal point of an illness or injury. Within the male Type CC2II group one example, No. 57 from Kophinas, revealed a torso with a spade-shaped opening cut out of its centre. This may represent the same technique to pinpoint an ailment or injury, more than a decorative element in the clothing. In both cases the openings are too exaggerated to support this latter conclusion.

Type LL3, represented by one example from the Royal Road excavations at Knossos, is unusual for its painted decoration. Both the front and the back of the hollow torso are painted in white superimposed with black, concentric circles on the front and concentric diamonds on the back. Round the waist is a dark orange-brown band. There is no evidence for breasts which together with the narrow waist is more suggestive of a male torso. However we have no other example of a male figure made and decorated in this manner, the form of the torso is quite unusual in its lozenge shape, and there is no evidence of male sexual organs or codpiece extant. For this reason it must remain an 'unknown'.



Type KK3 with one example, No 63 from Kophinas, with its short, crude arms looped round to the side of a featureless chest and surmounted by a long, thick, cylindrical neck and head with crude, pinched out nose, shows no features that may distinguish it as being male, female or hermaphrodite.

It is the figurines that show no attempt at distinguishing their sex, but rather deliberately omitting any sexual organs, that constitute the more interesting types within this group. Nos. *J5* and *J6*, from Juktas, in their rather 'suspended' attitudes with legs apart and arms 'hanging' at the sides, seem crude and unfinished with totally featureless bodies. Their heads are pinched out to form a nose with a crescent-shaped mouth piece and disc-shaped eyes attached to them. They are reminiscent of the figure standing in the doorway of the model from Kamilari which had set onto its circular platform a hermaphrodite leaning over a table performing some task (Type CC3, No. 12 Pl.138). Types GG3I and II, represented by one example each, have crude, rounded or oval, featureless heads, with only the nose pinched out. No. 152 from Prinias of GG3I has thick and flattened arms bent round to the chest with a narrow and flat torso. It has an incision down the centre of the torso and the fingers are indicated by further incisions. No. 61 from Kophinas of GG3II has short, projecting arm stumps and a completely featureless torso. No. 78 of Type HH3, from Maza with a slightly drawn in waist and rounded, protruding buttocks and thighs is reminiscent of examples from the Male AA2III group with its more sinuous outline, and the sides running down into the legs without interruption. However there is no evidence of male or female sexual organs having ever been present.

The small, thin arms are curved round to the front of the body but frame no breasts.

The most interesting figurines of this group are undoubtedly those belonging to Types QQ3I and II, and certainly the most numerous with a total of nine examples, six from Knossos and three from Juktas, the closest peak sanctuary to the palace. They are characterized by their short, thick and featureless, cylindrical bodies with incurving backs and arms pulled out in front and below the neck into short, stumpy projections. The head, continuing on in the same curve as the body at the back, is pinched out in front for the nose and chin leaving two large eye depressions. The hat, widebrimmed in front and flattened at the back as it inclines downwards, is formed by merely pulling up the edges of the head and flattening its top. Their bodies slightly flare at the base as if they could be wearing dresses, although there is no certainty of this. They are clearly made up from one piece of clay with one example, No. 193 from Knossos, revealing two small pellets of clay applied for the ears. This type appears to be unique to Knossos with parallels found at only one other site to date, Juktas, which is in close proximity to Knossos. No. 42 of Type QQ3II, from Juktas, represents a slight variation in that two small pellets of clay are applied for the eyes and the arms are formed by applying a strip of clay round the back of the body with its two ends coming round to the front and flattened at the ends for the hands. It has the same cylindrical body flaring at the base but the back is not incurved.

Type RR3, represented by four main examples from Kamilari, is important in that these four figures are part of a model whose significance is regularly debated. The four figures are all

seated on small four-legged stools against a wall: three are of the same size with one smaller. They appear to wear dresses or robes extending to the ground and hold their right hand forwards and left arm down on their laps. The figure on the far left wears a cap. There are no distinguishing features to determine their sex although they are seated opposite two smaller, standing males with one of these carrying a jug or bowl. If the standing figurines are clearly represented as male by the presence of codpieces the seated figures are clearly meant to be represented as having no sexual characteristics to distinguish them. Each of the seated figures has a small, rounded table in front of them and they appear to be in a room or building with three small windows in the wall behind them and fronted with two pillars behind the standing men and at each corner.

No. 105, of Type SS3 from Petsopha, represents a seated figure, wearing a dress or robe and revealing no distinguishing sexual features. In this figure however, the torso is painted white and the lower half dark brown to black. We know from other examples and from frescoes that female flesh is normally painted white, so it is possible that this figure is female, though it is far from certain. The crude example From Mallia (HM 22.134) of Type TT3 reconstructed from seven fragments, represents a seated figure with no apparent sexual characteristics. The existence of a small hole in the back may indicate that the figure was once attached to something, though we have no parallels with which to compare it. Most notable is its gesture, with the right arm (and possibly once the left arm) raised and the hand resting on top of the head.

The 'neutrality' of these figures may hold great significance



especially on the model where it appears that we are not supposed to regard them as having human sexual characteristics. Conversely, the neutrality of the cruder figures of Type QQ3I and II, FF3 and HH3, may simply be a reflection of the technique used for the modelling of these figurines with no added significance, although constituting definite types, particularly QQ3I.

### ZZZ HEADS

Isolated heads, constituting such a large number of the finds relating to figurines and on peak sanctuaries pose a great problem. Where they still remain attached to the torsos it is possible to ascertain whether they are male or female or where they reveal definite female characteristics as with the heads from Piskokephalo and Petsopha discussed in the section on female figurines. For the majority, however, it is impossible to ascertain which gender they belong to, as many types are seen to overlap and more important, they were fashioned in the same way. In addition to this at Traostalos, one of the sites for which we have a great deal of recorded evidence (see Table 9) of what exists in the Herakleion Museum, many of the heads appear to have identical replicas (represented by the number in brackets set after the museum inventory number) but there does not appear to be a corresponding number of torsos and/or whole figures. This may be due to preservation and recording or lack of both. Alternatively it may indicate that heads were produced in isolation, just as limbs were produced for themselves and noted by Myers at Petsopha peak sanctuary.<sup>97</sup>

The eight types of heads of 'unknown sex' presented here represent a small but sound selection and cross section of types that



exist from the Proto-palatial period, even if they are later attributed to the different sexes. Type ZZ3I, for instance, characterized by the triangular faces with pinched out noses and eye depressions and conical hats surmounted on the heads are very common, with one good example from the Palace of Zakros. Variations on this theme can be seen in Type ZZ3II from Traostalos with the eye depressions inset with two large pellets of clay and an apparently bald head. Types ZZ3III and IV, both from Kophinas and with more moulded noses and chins (and in the case of ZZ3III painted facial features) and wearing tall hats, almost certainly belong to female figurines and have close parallels at Petsopha.<sup>98</sup>

More unusual is Type ZZ3VI represented by examples like No. 73 from Kophinas with a rounded head set on a long, thick, cylindrical neck. The face is pinched out to form the nose leaving large eye depressions inset with clay pellets. The back of the head is still rounded and the head is surmounted by a cone-shaped hat.

Type ZZ3V, represented by one example from Kophinas, has a spherical head with slightly pinched out nose leaving shallow eye depressions inset with two holes, evidently formed by piercing the clay with a pointed instrument. It has irregularly shaped strips of clay set across the top of the head and round the back, probably denoting hair. A very common type of head which may be seen in the Agios Nikolaos Museum, predominantly from Prinias, but not studied here, is characterised by a rounded bald head, fine moulded nose, incised mouth and two small pierced dot eyes. The ears are often applied in the form of round clay pellets and the neck is tall and thin. There are a great number of these heads of varying sizes and some with open bowl-shaped hats, though most remain bare-headed.<sup>99</sup>

Types ZZ3IX - ZZ3XXI, each represented by one example, are from Piskokephalo (see Table 24). They reveal a variety of facial features, though most are formed by the more common 'pinched out' technique. No. 145 of Type ZZ3XVI for example, carries eight tresses of hair around the front and sides of the head with three additional tresses on top of the head. In the eye depressions formed by the pinched-out nose two small pellets of clay have been inserted. No. 143 of Type ZZ3XIV, however, has a large moulded nose and squarish chin and only slight eye depressions and the head is apparently bald.

TABLE 23  
LOCATION +  
NATURALISTIC UNKNOWN TYPES FOR THE PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	FF3	GG3I	GG3II	HH3	II3	JJ3	KK3	LL3	NN3	PP3	QQ3I	QQ3II	RR3	SS3	TT3
JUKTAS	2										2	1			
KAMILARI													4		
KNOSSOS								1			6				
KOPHINAS			1		1		1		2	2					
MALLIA															1
MAZA				1											
PETSOPHA														1	
PISKOKEPHALO						1									
PRINIAS		1													
VASILIKI											1				
TOTALS	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	9	1	4	1	1

NOTES

1. This type may be correlated with the Schematic Type B figurines of the Pre-palatial period (see Table 21).
2. These two figurines from Petsopha on display in the Agios Nikolaos Museum (case 25) were studied by the author with kind permission of Dr Davaras. They had no inventory numbers and were together with two additional examples of the same type which were not studied.
3. This type may be correlated with the Schematic Type I figurines of the Pre-palatial period represented by one example from Mallia with painted lines on the back (see Table 21).
4. This is very reminiscent of the Schematic Type JI group from the Pre-palatial period and in particular the example from Myrtos, made of clay, which show no facial features.
5. This type corresponds to the Schematic Type D group of the Pre-palatial period which yielded two examples from Trapeza (see Table 21).
6. This type resembles the Schematic Type GII group of the Pre-palatial period represented by an example from Agios Onouphrios. However, here the neck is low and thick and the head rounded (see Table 21).
7. There is a similar example from Zakros from an LMIB context.
8. The naturalistic group of figurines is grouped and discussed in the following gender order: male, female, hermaphrodite, unknown.
9. This figurine was not studied by the author but has been published by A. Karetsou in ΠΑΕ 1977 (1980) B, 419, pl. 222a, and Ergon 1977 (1978), 181, pl. 125.
10. This figurine has not been published but was studied with the kind



permission of A. Karetsou.

11. This figurine was studied with the kind permission of Professor N. Platon and is unpublished.
12. This figurine was studied with the kind permission of Dr. Davaras and is unpublished.
13. This figurine was not studied by the author but has been published in ΠΑΕ 1975 (1977), 335, pl. 264β.
14. This figurine is unpublished but studied with the kind permission of Professor N. Platon. It has no inventory number and may be from the succeeding Neo-palatial period (LMIB which marks the destruction of the Palace of Zakros).
15. Although there are no precise indications of the gender of this figurine its similarity in form to No. 108 is unmistakable and likewise for Nos. 107 and 110.
16. This figurine is unpublished but studied with kind permission of Dr. K. Davaras.
17. See n.16 above.
18. All figurines from Kophinas are unpublished and studied with the kind permission of Professor Platon and Dr. Davaras.
19. Markings on the left hand side of the chest suggest that the other arm was held in the same position as the right arm - i.e. both were held to the chest and meeting in the centre.
20. Alexiou. S., Deltion Vol. 18 1963: Chronika, 313, pl. 363(a). There is no inventory number or publication number given.
21. This figurine has not been published but was studied with kind permission of Dr. Davaras.
22. It is not altogether certain whether this torso belongs to the male group. After examination it was felt that the form

and style conformed more to that of a male than a female figurine, or other gender.

23. This figurine is unpublished but studied with the kind permission of A. Karetsou.
24. Although there are no indications of sex, by comparison to other examples from this type group the torso is thought by the author to belong to the male gender.
25. This gesture type has been estimated from the direction of the upper arms.
26. See n.24, above.
27. This figurine was published in Mallia I, 1922-1924 (1928) by F. Chapouthier and J. Charbonneaux.
28. IAE 1977 (1978) No. 30, 419-420, pl. 222(b) and (c) by A. Karetsou.
29. No details are provided in the report of measurements and other attributes.
30. Unpublished but studied with kind permission of Dr. Davaras.
31. A small fragment of the hand still extant on the chest indicated that the right arm was also looped round in the front and rested on the chest.
32. See n. 30 above.
33. As in No. 97 above, the collar of the bodice is brought forward at its laterals to form the arms. However they are broken off at the shoulders. One may surmise, however, that they are in a similar gesture to No. 97 from Petsopha.
34. Although published with a group from Maza in Kr. Chr. 5 1951, 124, pl. E(1) they are entered in the museum catalogue at Herakleion as coming from Β' τάφος Σταμνιῶν Πεδιαδος. This also applies to No. 83 below.

35. J.L. Myres, BSA vol.IX 1902-3, 368, discusses the construction of these female figurines as follows: "a lozenge-shaped plate of clay was made, to represent the bodice of the dress; and its two lateral angles were drawn out to form the arms. The head, modelled separately with a long stalk-like neck, was then laid face upward on this plate, along its longer diameter. Then the margins of the plate, below the level of the arms were drawn forward, like the spathe of an arum-lily, to enfold the lower part of the neck and so to form a thicker stalk or peg for insertion in the apex of the skirt piece. The junction was smoothed over by squeezing the body-clay downwards over the upper part of the skirt, and sometimes a heavy fillet of clay was added, over all, to represent the padded girdle ... The junction of neck and bodice were similarly remodelled, and disguised by the addition of pellets of clay for the breasts; and finally the arms were brought forward rather above the horizontal line".
36. ibid. 367. Myres estimated from his examination of this type of figure that the lower half usually stood at about 8cm. high and seemed "to be wheelmade, and has nearly the form of the common beaker-type of Palaikastro, but baseless and inverted".
37. ibid. 368. Myres refers to this as the "wide standing collar of the 'Medici' type which rises to a high point at the back of the head: and it recalls at once the square standing collars and epaulettes of the seated ladies in the miniature frescoes of Knossos" (cf. JHS XXI, pl. V, and BSA VII, fig. 17).
38. ibid. 370. Myres likens it to 'a short broad shoe-horn'.
39. This white on dark painting is good evidence to support the case that these figurines date to EMIII, by comparison to contemporary pottery of this same decorative style.

40. There is no evidence of breasts but the type of torso and method of construction conforms to this type. They may have been broken off.
41. This crudely modelled example reveals clearly the method of construction as described by Myres (see n. 35).
42. The white paint in front and between the shoulders may represent the exposed female flesh - traditionally painted in white with that of men in a reddish-brown colour (Myres 1902-3, op.cit., 370 and supported by frescoes).
43. Published in the Agios Nikolaos Museum Guide by Dr. Davaras, 1972, no. 45, Museum No. 6739.
44. The arms are broken off at the shoulders as in No. 235 from Zakros above (n. 41).
45. The join of the lower neck into the torso is still visible with finger marks where the clay was pressed together.
46. Myres, 1902-3 op.cit., 372, sees in this example "a very early analogy, and perhaps even the prototype, of a rare group of Cypriote votive figurines of the Iron Age (JHS XVII, 166, fig. 15: Cypr.Mus.Cat. No. 5540, 153), in which a female figurine bears a regular saucer-lamp on her head, Yet the lamps of these figures have never been used as lamps and ... are identical with the large class of votive figurines in association with which they occur". I am inclined to believe, however, that such a hat represents merely an additional style to the repertoire of hats that Minoan women wore.
47. Published in the Agios Nikolaos Museum Guide by Dr. Davaras, No. 43, Museum no. 9956.
48. This figurine may be hermaphrodite. Although two pellet



- breasts are indicated it has the form of a head closer to the male group with no hat and traces of dark red paint on it.
49. Published in the Agios Nikolaos Museum Guide by Dr. Davaras, Nos. 39 and 44 respectively.
  50. The right arm is bent up towards the head but away from the body and the left arm is similarly bent and inclines up at a lower level, both in the general direction of the chin.
  51. Although this figure depicts large, conical breasts and wears a skirt there was evidence of a reddish-brown paint all over which is customarily used for male flesh. It was found with two almost certain hermaphrodite figures (discussed below).
  52. This gesture resembles that of Type KK2 although the form of the figurine itself is different.
  53. See n. 42 above.
  54. There are no indications of sex but the figurine wears a skirt.
  55. The right arm just touches the body without being attached to it. Traces of the left arm can be seen on the front torso next to the end of the right arm as if once in the same position.
  56. This figurine appears to have the same gesture as No. 116 of this type but the forearms incline slightly upwards. Traces of the right arm may be seen on the front right hand side of the torso.
  57. Unpublished but studied with kind permission of Dr. Davaras.
  58. The shoulders and parts of the upper arm that remain are curved round to the front. The forearms may have been in a variety of positions.
  59. This figurine is unpublished and studied with kind permission of S. Hood. It had been placed together with the figurines from

the Royal Road but it appears to belong to Evans' earlier excavations of Hogarth's Houses.

60. Apparently found in the tholos tomb at Gypsades, as the number indicated, and as suggested by Hood.
61. The left shoulder and upper arm curve round to the front but it is not possible to say what the gesture was beyond this.
62. In this example the right arm is crossed over the chest with the hand resting just below the chin (and not over the shoulder) and the left arm comes down over the waist to the opposite hip.
63. There are two identical skirts from this site with the same inventory number.
64. Similar to No. 185, but the elbows are more sharply bent rather than curved round and the arms more steeply inclined with the right hand almost touching the edge of the chin.
65. Nos. *J5* and *J6* were not studied by the author but have been published by A. Karetsou in ΠΑΕ 1977 (1980) B, 419, and Ergon 1977 (1978) vol. 30, 181.
66. This figurine was published by Αγγ. Δελτιον in Deltion 1975 (1983) B'2 Chronika, 341, pl. 248(a).
67. The right arm is evidently curved round tightly to the front and shows indications of having been held to the chest.
68. The hands meet in the centre but higher up the torso below the neck.
69. Unpublished but studied with kind permission of S. Hood.
70. The direction of the right upper arm is upwardstowards the head. If this is a saluting figure it is unique as this gesture does not appear commonly until the Neo-palatial period.
71. The deep rift down the middle of the torso is very unusual. It

- is difficult to say whether it represents a diseased or injured section of the body or an opening of a bodice. If it is a bodice the figure may then be regarded as female.
72. This figurine and those following of this type and from the Royal Road are unpublished but studied with kind permission of S. Hood.
  73. Both are published by A. Karetsou in ΠΑΕ 1976 (1978) B, 414, They were not seen or studied by the author.
  74. This figurine was not studied but is published by A. Zoes in ΠΑΕ 1978 (1980), 302, pl. 191a.
  75. Unpublished but studied with kind permission of A. Karetsou.
  76. The gesture and arms of this figure are not easily discernable.
  77. This figurines was not studied but has been published by H. Van Effenterre and Y. Tzedakis, Deltion 32, 1977 (1982), 75a.
  78. Unpublished but studied with kind permission of Dr. Davaras.
  79. This head has been published by Evans in P.o.M. Vol. IV, 67, fig. 41, but was not seen or studied by the author.
  80. See Table 5 for typological procedure and terminology.
  81. Examples of nude men, normally crudely modelled can be seen in the show cases at Agios Nikolaos - one in particular, from Prinias has his legs set apart and arms outstretched.
  82. We know this from frescoes from the Palace of Knossos.
  83. Myres, 1902-3 op.cit., 361, noted and described the method of construction of both male and female figurines from Petsopha.
  84. Platon, N., Kr. Chr., 1951, 124-147, discusses at length the male and female types found at Piskokephalo. With regard to the males he noted the well modelled torsos with slim drawn in waists; their rounded arms with the right tending to be bent across

the chest towards the opposite shoulder and the other bent over the chest with the hand resting on the former wrist. He also noted the joints, shins, knees were plastically rendered in a sophisticated manner.

85. Myres, 1902-3 op.cit., 361. He describes the male figures from Petsopha as ranging from 10-17 cm. in height (with one which measures 12 cms. from shoulders to knees and so must have stood at about 22cms. in height). A few stand on small, round bases 3.5-4cms. in diameter. All the figures stand erect, with feet usually close together and the legs slightly bowed. The waist is drawn in so as to be narrow and the shoulders are broad. The arms are usually extended to the elbow at an angle of about  $60^{\circ}$  with the trunk; the forearms are tightly flexed and the hands pressed closely to the body between the shoulders and the breast.
86. ibid. Another example of such a kilt can be seen on one of the figurines published in this report of Petsopha.
87. See Platon 1951 op.cit., 129, fig.2, for more examples.
88. See n. 33 above, for method of construction.
89. Their recognition as a prominent type follows Myres description of them in his report of Petsopha, op.cit.
90. Although Platon includes these two examples in his publication of Maza 1951 op.cit. PLE', Fig. 1, in the Museum catalogue at Herakleion they are entered as coming from Β' Τάφος Σταμνίων Πεδιαδος excavated in the same year.
91. The head of this torso resembles a male more than a female but because of the presence of breasts it has been classified as female. It may well be hermaphrodite.
92. Platon 1951 op.cit., 130-136. Unfortunately those particular



figurines were not studied by the author.

93. Royal Road Excavations.
94. Platon 1951 op.cit., 140.
95. ibid. 129, pl. Θ, Fig. 1, 4. Complete examples are recorded here, and ΠΑΕ 1952 (1955), 633, Fig. 14.
96. Case 14 in particular. These were unavailable for study.
97. Myres, 1902-3, op.cit., Pl. XII, 42-52.
98. ibid., Pls. VIII-XI.
99. No. 16537 from Traostalos (Table 9) is described in the Herakleion Museum as being similar to this type of head from Prinias, and has sixty-eight replicas.

Chapter 10 - The Neo-Palatial Period

1. Schematic Figurines

TYPE A3 (nos. 204, 271).

No. 204<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 97b)

From Mallia, Quartier E. French School Apotheke No. E63/22

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: -

Head: oval, and incurving at neck. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: - (missing)

Marble; 2.9cm. ht.

No. 271<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 97a)

From Mallia, Quartier E. French School Apotheke No. E64/51

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: oval, and incurving at neck. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: oval, but wider and larger than head. Featureless.

Limestone.

TYPE B3 (No. 205)

No. 205<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 97)

From Mallia, Quartier E. French School Apotheke No. E63/28

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: oval, with incurving at neck. Featureless

Torso and Lower Half: small and short, slanting, angular shoulders

with rounded-off base giving spade-shape. Convex  
front and back with flattened sides.<sup>4</sup> Featureless.

Limestone (with contour lines); 3.3cm.

TYPE C3 (No. ZAK1)

No. ZAK1<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 97)

From Zakros

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: oval, incurving at neck. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: squarish, with very short, slanting shoulders.

Flattened base and sides. Featureless.

Marble.

TYPE D3 (No. 208)

No. 208<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 98)

From Mallia, Quartier E. French School Apotheke No. E63/26

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: rounded-off but stumpy projection emerging from torso. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular, with rounded-off end and worn, irregular  
and rounded shoulders.<sup>7</sup> (Chipped in places around  
shoulders.)

Marble; 5.4cm. ht.

TYPE E3 (No. 228)

No. 228 (Pl. 171, Fig. 98)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum - (no inv.number)<sup>8</sup>

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no indications)

Head: tongue-shaped, with rounded crown and only incised groove separating head from torso. Flattened back and convex front. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: (bottom half missing), Straight sides and probably oblong. Flattened back and slightly convex front. Featureless.

Marble; 3.2cm. ht.

TYPE F3 (No. 280)No. 280<sup>9</sup> (Fig. 98)From Mallia, Quartier Δ(α)

Female

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: - (no clear indications)

Head: - (missing)

Torso and Lower Half: tongue-shaped, with wide, gently slanting rounded shoulders incurving slightly below shoulder and upper arm region. Body tapers slightly and is rounded off. Two small breasts carved onto upper torso.

Dress: - (no indications)

Marble; 7.7cm. ht.



TYPE G3 (No. 188)No. 188<sup>10</sup> (Pl. 172, Fig. 99)From Knossos. Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No. RV6 1585

Unknown Sex

Posture: -

Gesture: Type 4(?)

Head: pinched out nose leaving two large eye depressions. Flat top of head and incurving back.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular. Body flattened out below arms - latter formed by pulling forward two bottom laterals and pressing in between the arms. Back coming straight down from head and outwards. Rounded base.

Dress: dark reddish-brown band around chest, descending into a V-shape at the back.

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of reddish-brown to dark brown paint, soft; 3.3cm. ht.

TYPE H3 (Nos. 189, 190)

No. 189 (Pl. 173)

From Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No. RR/61/323

Unknown Sex

Posture: -

Gesture: Type 4

Head: small and rounded, with triangular face, and inclined well back.

Moulded head with eyes, nose and chin and peaked cap on head.

Torso and Lower Half: triangular lower half, with triangular arm extensions (one broken off) pulled forwards from torso which is pressed in. Incurving back coming down from back of head. Three points (as below). Featureless.

Dress: two reddish-brown horizontal bands across back of shoulders.

Pointed spiral on top of head coming down back of head.

Clay, pinkish-buff, orange-buff slip, traces of orangy-brown paint;

3.8cm. ext. ht.

No. 190<sup>11</sup> (Pl. 174, Fig. 99)

From Knossos, Royal Road. Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No. RR/61/128

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: Type 4(?)

Head: - (missing)

Torso and Lower Half: triangular lower half and two triangular arm extensions

with near horizontal shoulders - giving three

points. Featureless.

Dress: reddish-brown cross on back and one vertical strap on each arm -

all straps converging on front of body over arm and shoulders.

Clay, orange-buff, grey core, self slip, traces of reddish-brown paint,

hard; 2.8cm. ht.

TYPE I3 (No. 229)

No. 229<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 99)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum - (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (body missing)

Gesture: - " "

Head: polygonal, with flat top and four sides with the two lower sides

tapering to a rounded-off end. Convex front and back. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: - (missing)

White transparent marble; 1.7cm. ext. ht.

### Schematic Types

There are eleven figurines attributed to the Schematic group from the Neo-palatial period, including two heads. Four were located at Quartier E, Mallia, with one other from Quartier Δ; three were from Zakros and three from Knossos (including one from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen and two from the Royal Road Excavations).

During the Proto-palatial period a number of schematic figurines were found in the same deposit at Quartier Mu, Mallia, with additional types emanating from the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha. During the Neo-palatial period the schematic figurines appear to be limited to settlement sites only, namely Mallia, Knossos and Zakros. Of the eleven figurines there are nine different types with only Types A3 and H3 producing more than one example (two, in both cases). Type A3, with two examples from Mallia (No. 204 representing only a head), are characterized by their oval heads and in the case of No. 271 by an additional larger and wider, oval body. They are totally featureless and carved from stone (marble and limestone respectively).

Type B3 retains the oval head but has a spade-shaped body which can be paralleled with examples from earlier periods; notably Schematic Type E2I of the Proto-palatial period and Schematic Type D of the Pre-palatial period, thus seeing a continuation of this particular tradition throughout the Minoan periods. It is interesting to note that in No. 205 from Mallia, of the most recent period, the contour lines of the limestone are used to enhance the shape of the figure.

Type C3, represented by one example from Zakros, reveals an oval head but a more square torso and lower half with rounded edges. It may be paralleled with No. 212 from Mallia, Quartier Mu of the Schematic Type G2 group of the Proto-palatial period. The example from



Mallia has a longer body, but shorter head, though both are carved from marble in a similar fashion.

Type D3, despite being chipped off at the shoulders, reveals strong similarities with examples from Type B of the Pre-palatial schematic figurines, with its triangular body tapering to a rounded-off point and surmounted by a small head (now only a stumpy projection). Equally well paralleled is Type E3, with Type C of the Pre-palatial period. The former, No. 228 from Zakros has a small, tongue-shaped head, separated from a once long and oblong body by an incised groove, and is totally featureless. The examples from Type C, whilst revealing the long, oblong and featureless bodies, tend to have more rounded heads.

Type F3 reveals two small pellets of clay applied for breasts onto an otherwise featureless and rounded-off torso and lower half combined. An attempt has been made to indicate the arms, which are possibly folded over the waist. This is achieved by slight incurving at the waist and rounded-off edges for the shoulders and elbows.

Type G3 and H3 represented by one example from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen and two from the Royal Road excavations at Knossos respectively, all have their arms pulled forwards into triangular projections from the body clay. In the case of G3 the torso is levelled off and rounded beneath the arms, and in H3 the body is pulled downwards into a further triangular projection with the same dimensions as the two arms. Both types retain heads, in the case of G3 with the nose pinched out leaving eye depressions, and in Type H3, No. 189, a well moulded head is revealed with modelled eyes, nose and chin.



TABLE 25

## LOCATION &amp; SCHEMATIC TYPES FOR THE NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	A3	B3	C3	D3	E3	F3	G3	H3	I3
KNOSSOS							1	2	
MALLIA	2	1		1		1			
ZAKROS			1		1				1
TOTALS	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1

## 2. Naturalistic Figurines

### MALES

#### TYPE AA4 (No. 232)

No. 232 (Pl. 175, Fig. 100)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum No. 341

Male

Posture: - (legs missing)

Gesture: (right arm missing) Possibly 2(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: narrow and straight-sided, with arms curving round towards chest and long, slanting shoulders. Slightly convex back and front. Featureless.

Lower Half: (missing below thighs) Rounded buttocks and thighs with narrow codpiece attached (very worn).

Dress: - (no indications other than codpiece)

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of black paint, fairly soft;

4.0cm. ext. ht.

#### TYPE BB4 (No. 170)

No. 170<sup>13</sup> (Pl. 176, Fig. 100)

From Psychro. Ashmolean Museum No. AE 621

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 6(a)(ii)

Head: rounded with low neck. Featureless.

Torso: rectangular, with straight sides continuing into legs without interruption. Slightly incurved back and flat front with

uneven and rough finish.

Lower Half: legs continuing straight down from waist with small, oval codpiece attached. Buttocks faintly rounded and protruding.

Dress: - (no indications)

Bronze; 5.5cm. ht.

TYPE CC4.I(Nos. 171, 172, +)

No. 171<sup>14</sup> (Pl. 177)

From Psychro. Ashmolean Museum No. AE 605

Male<sup>15</sup>

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (right and left forearms missing) Probably Type 6(a)(1)

Head: long, with indistinct features and rough finish. Hair modelled on top of head, with cork-screw tresses hanging down on right side of torso to waist, and two down the back. Head bent slightly forwards and inclined downwards.

Torso: rectangular, with straight sides narrowing to waist and rounded shoulders and arms. Incurved back and convex front. Rough finish and much corroded. Muscular, well modelled arms.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: upper part of belt round waist with loop on right back as if tied.

Bronze; 5.5cm. ht.

No. 172<sup>16</sup> (Pl. 178, Fig. 100)

From Psychro. Ashmolean Museum No. AE 23

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 6(a)(11)

Head: oval, with rounded-off chin and indistinct facial features except for moulded ears. Hair moulded at top and back of head with two long tresses almost reaching the waist. Thick, low neck.

Torso: rectangular with sides narrowing to waist. Incurved back giving 'leaning back' effect and convex front. Indication of ribs and chest bones and muscles evident in taut arms with clenched fists.

Lower Half: waist drawn in with hips flaring out and slightly rounded, protruding buttocks. Thin legs moulded separately and held apart, with feet.

Dress: thick waist band and apron which tapers down to knees in front and just covers buttocks at back.

Bronze; 7.7cm. ht.

The following figurines may be added to this type CC4 group:

From Psychro(?)<sup>17</sup>. Louvre Museum No. BR.4294

As above. Thick lock of hair visible from crown of head to nape of neck. Standing on a long tenon with base. Intact. 18cm. ht.

From Hagia Triadha.<sup>18</sup> Museo di Pigorini Inv.no. 71879

As above, but smaller dimensions and more drawn in waist. Hair gathered on top and back of head and falling down back. Intact, but rough finish and corroded. 8.5cm. ht.

From Archanes.<sup>19</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. HM 2508

As above, and with feet together. Rounded-off crown with no hair evident. Intact but corroded, especially on face. 7.0cm. ht.

From Skoteino.<sup>20</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 2574

As above, but with back more incurved and head thrown further back.



Front of apron extending to below knees. Missing calves and feet and much corroded. 7.7cm. ht.

From Skoteino.<sup>21</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 2575

As above, but with more pronounced and rounded belt and long oval codpiece attachment with short flap covering buttocks at back.

Missing right forearm and below knees. Much corroded. 8cm. ht.

Unknown Location.<sup>22</sup> Musée-Hôtel Sandelin, Saint-Omer Inv.No. 3534

As above, with pronounced belt and apron extending down to the ankles in front and to the knees behind. Pronounced and large, oval codpiece attached over apron. Anklets, bracelets and arm bands visible. Facial features corroded, but long cork-screw tresses evident falling in front down either side to the waist, and down the back to the waist. Left foot placed slightly forwards in front of right. 18.1cm. ht.

PK2

From Palaikastro.<sup>23</sup> Herakleion Museum. Inv.No. 1418

As above but upper half extant only with half of left arm. Facial features much corroded but hair gathered in three buns down median of head with additional tresses descending down either side of chest and in thick locks down the back. 3.5cm. ext. ht.

Unknown Location (Phaistos region?).<sup>24</sup> Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leyde  
Inv.No. I.1904-2.1

As above but with both arms covering the chest and bent at the elbows with the forearms held up vertically to the face (hands missing).

Head inclined forwards and facial features corroded. Flat, circular hat worn on top of head. Thick, rounded belt worn round waist with short flap worn in front and covering the buttocks behind. Codpiece attached over flap. Missing below the knees. 13.9cm. ext. ht.

The figurines listed below may be attributed to the CC4.II type group, but they have not been studied personally by the author.

TYPE CC4.II (Fig. 101)

From Tylissos.<sup>25</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 1831

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 6(a)(ii)

Head: oval with facial features indicated, including eyes, nose, ears and incision for mouth. Hair gathered on crown of head and descending in thick locks to nape of neck after which cork-screw tresses fall down back. Long neck.

Torso: long and rectangular, with steeply incurved back and convex front with slightly drawn in waist. Large, broad shoulders thrown back with muscular and elongated arms held taut

Lower Half: hips broadening below waistband with well modelled, elongated and thin, 'bandy' legs set slightly apart. Legs taut and curving out at back giving S-line profile to whole body. On base.

Dress: thin, rounded belt round waist with codpiece attached. Necklace, anklets and bracelets indicated.

Bronze; 16.5cm. ht.

From Tylissos.<sup>26</sup> Herakleion Museum

As above, but more upright stance. Rougher finish and more corroded.

Wears a short kilt and belt and codpiece attachment. On thicker base. Intact.

From Skoteiono.<sup>27</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 2573

As first example, with steeply incurved back. Arms long and muscular

but more thickly moulded. Legs missing below calves. Wears a narrow apron in front<sup>28</sup> extending to just above the knees and shorter flap covering buttocks at back. Rough finish and corroded. 9cm. ht.

From Hagia Triadha.<sup>29</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 752 (Fig. 101)

As above, but cruder and more corroded with indistinct facial features. Long, 'bandy' arms and legs and protruding codpiece beneath apron(?) in front. Standing on base with feet together. 8.5cm. ht.

From Agia Triadha.<sup>30</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 749

More upright stance with long, bandy, arms and legs, but latter held tightly together. Short torso with thick, double-ringed belt and short kilt with superimposed codpiece. Hair gathered on top of head with thick lock hanging down the back. 8.8cm. ht.

The figurines listed below have been attributed to Type group CC4.III, but have not been studied personally by the author.

TYPE CC4.III (Fig. 101)

No. J8<sup>31</sup>

From Juktas. Herakleion Museum Inv.No.-

Male

Posture: Type 1

Gesture: Type 6(a)(iii)

Head: oval, with nose projection but otherwise crude and indistinct features.

Torso: short and rectangular, with straight-sided waist widening into arms and slanting shoulders. Thick and featureless arms.

Fairly upright.

Lower Half: hips widening slightly below belt and continuing straight

down, with legs together, and narrowing at ankles.

Feet merged into triangular projection. Indication of  
leg division slight and large, extended codpiece attached.

Dress: wide, thick belt round waist with codpiece attached. Rounded  
and thick neck-band and bracelet on right arm.

Lead; 4.4cm. ht.

From Psychro.<sup>32</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 426

As above but longer arms. Short kilt worn over smaller but protruding  
codpiece. Rough finish and corroded. 5.5cm. ht.

From Psychro.<sup>3</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 435 (Fig. 101)

As above but with shorter, thicker arms. Much corroded and feet missing.  
4.5cm. ext. ht.

Unknown Location<sup>34</sup> National Museum of Rome Inv.No. 70147

As above. Much corroded and feet missing. 7cm.ext..ht.

Figurines of Type DD4.I and II listed below have not been studied by  
the author, but are well documented in published sources.

TYPE DD4.I (Fig. 102)

From Tylissos.<sup>35</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 1762 (Fig. 102)

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 6(a)(ii)

Head: well-rounded, wide head with nose, eyes and ears indicated -  
crude and rough finish and corroded.

Torso: thick and wide, with rounded shoulders and straight sides.

Rounded profile and well modelled. Indications of muscles  
down raised right arm and left arm held down by side with clenched  
fist.



Lower Half: hips flaring slightly below belt. Large and well rounded thighs covered to knees and exposing thin lower legs incurving at knees and ankles. Buttocks indicated below apron at back. Feet set slightly apart on base.

Dress: wide, thick belt round waist and kilt or apron down front and back with codpiece attached over apron. Band round neck.

Bronze; 25cm. ht.

From Tylissos.<sup>36</sup> British Museum, London, Inv.No. 1918

As above, but with more distinct facial features including protruding ears and legs held tightly together. Slightly narrow waist and hip dimensions. 22cm. ht.

TYPE DD4.II (Fig. 103)

From Hagia Triadha Villa.<sup>37</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 2312

As above, but shorter and squatter and more crudely modelled. Oval head with indistinct facial features; thick, rounded arms without definition. Legs held tightly together with feet missing. Upper half inclined backwards with convex front and protruding codpiece in front. Crude with rough finish and corroded. 5cm. ht.

TYPE DD4.III (Fig. 103)

From Hagia Triadha Villa.<sup>38</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 750

Torso continuing to be short and thick with straight sides. Hips flaring slightly below waist but legs held together and thickly moulded. Arms irregularly and crudely formed. Small, oval head set onto thick neck and surmounted by conical hat/headdress. 6cm. ht.

TYPE EE4 (Fig. 104)

No. J9 (Fig. 104)

From Juktas.<sup>39</sup> Antikenmuseum, West Berlin, Inv.No. 10518

Male

Posture: Type 2

Gesture: Type 5(a)(iii)

Head: oval, with facial features clearly moulded including eyes, eye-brows, nose, mouth and ears. Hair evident on top of head and surmounted by small rounded cap(?). Long neck.

Torso: sides narrowing to waist - very broad and thick shoulders and upper arms, forearms thin. Pectoral muscles and arm muscles indicated. Flattened profile - upright.

Lower Half: widening slightly below waist with rounded and protruding buttocks. Long, thin legs well moulded with knees and ankles indicated and calf muscles - set apart.

Dress: loin cloth and belt.

Bronze; 23.5cm. ht.

TYPE FF4 (Fig. 104)From Katsambas.<sup>40</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 1829 (Fig. 104)

Male

Postre: Type 2

Gesture: Type 4(c)

Head: small and rounded. Indications of inset eyes, fine nose and rounded ears. Inclined slightly backwards. Corroded features. Cork screw stresses hanging down back of head and in front down sides of face and neck to shoulders. Short, thick neck.

Torso: short and rectangular, narrowing at waist. Short, horizontal

and rounded shoulders. Long and thick, featureless arms.

Flattened profile.

Lower Half: hips flaring below narrow waist with well rounded and protruding buttocks. Long legs incurving slightly at knees and ankles. Triangular feet set onto stand.

Dress: narrow, rounded belt with codpiece attachment and possible apron hanging down in front to just above the knees. Long and pointed cone-shaped hat set on head and inclining backwards.

Bronze; 10.5cm. ht.

FEMALESTYPE GG4 (No. 234)No. 234<sup>41</sup> (Fig. 105, Pl. 180)From Zakros. Siteia Museum No. 2615

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (hands and part of left forearm missing) probably Type 2(b)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long, with incurving and narrowing sides at waist. Long, slanting shoulders and upper arms with angular elbows and rounded forearms. Flattened back and front with small clay pellet breasts (one missing) applied. Torso flaring at waist.

Lower Half: (missing) large tenon extant at base of torso.

Clay, pale orange-buff, small brown and black flecks, fairly coarse.

6.3cm. ext. ht.

Added to this example is a similar torso from the Palace of Mallia.<sup>42</sup> (22.170)

The tenon is extant and small pellets of clay have been applied for breasts, onto a flattened surface. The arms are missing however. It is made of clay and is 5.6cm. high.

TYPE HH4 (No. 222)

No. 222 (Pl. 181, Fig. 105)

From Phaistos. Herakleion Museum No. 1773

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(d)

Head: rounded, with pinched out nose and chin and indented mouth.



Two shallow eye depressions and two pellets of clay applied for ears. Bald. Head slightly tilted back.

Torso: cylindrical, with straight sides narrowing slightly at waist. Short, slanting shoulders and rounded arms bent at elbow and held below breasts with arm ends pressed down and flattened onto torso. Flattened back. Two large, conical breasts applied high onto torso. Thick neck. Indication of navel.

Lower Half: flaring out below waist and extending to ground in bell-shape with hollow interior.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt with moulded waist band and apron painted orange onto front of skirt. Traces of reddish-brown paint on back.

Clay, pale pinkish-buff, traces of paint; 17cm. ht.

TYPE II4 (No. 223)

No. 223<sup>43</sup> (Pl. 182, Fig. 106)

From Phaistos. Herakleion Museum No. 1779

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 4(d)

Head: rounded, with pinched out nose leaving two large eye depressions, pinched out chin and indented mouth. Two large, oval pieces of clay applied for ears. Two thick locks joined on top of head and running down back of head and joining again at back of neck. Head tilted back.

Torso: very wide, horizontal and thickly moulded shoulders and large, swollen and featureless arms curved round and inclined

downwards to the waist. Exaggerated incurving waist and two small pellets of clay applied irregularly onto wide upper torso. Incurved back. Flaring below waist.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications) Traces of white paint on front and back, with additional reddish-brown traces of paint on back.

(Possibly denoting open bodice on torso).

Clay, pinkish-buff, dull buff slip, coarse and gritty; 6.1cm. ext. ht.

TYPE JJ4 (No. 224)

No. 224<sup>44</sup> (Pl. 183, Fig. 106)

From Phaistos. Herakleion Museum No. 11221

Female<sup>45</sup>

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 8(a)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: very short and broad, with crude and large arms looped round and over chest, concealing most of it. Flaring into skirt below arms. Featureless and hollow, with head tenon still visible.

Lower Half: flaring below arms into irregular bell-shape with hollow interior (broken in places with front pieces missing).

Dress: bell-shaped dress or skirt extending to ground.

Clay, pinkish-buff, dull buff slip, traces of white paint, fairly soft; 7.9cm. ext. ht.

TYPE KK4 (No. 182)

No. 182<sup>46</sup> (Pl. 184, Fig. 107)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 19064

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: (left arm missing) with right arm curved round to front  
and inclined upwards towards chin and above breasts .

Head: long and oblong, with rounded crown. Slightly pinched nose.

Featureless. Head and neck as one.

Torso: short and square, with straight sides and two large, conical  
breasts applied. Slightly incurving but flattened back  
running straight down from back of head and neck.

Lower Half: body tapers sharply beneath belt as if to form crude  
but elongated tenon.

Dress: thick, wide and wavy belt round waist and tying in front  
with ends hanging down centre front.

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of white paint, hard and gritty;

8.4cm. ext. ht.

TYPE LL4

No. 192 (Pl. 185, Fig. 107)

From Knossos.<sup>47</sup> Stratigraphical Museum, Knossos No. HH/57/92

Female

Posture: Type 3(?)<sup>48</sup>

Gesture: (right arm missing) Type 2(c)

Head: - (missing)

Torso: long and flattened, with gently incurving sides at waist. Long,  
horizontal shoulders and upper arm with thin, rounded forearm

held to side of chest. Two small pellets of clay applied for breasts. Flaring below waist.

Lower Half: body continues straight down from waist, flaring outwards, uninterrupted, and possibly levelled off to rounded base. Featureless.

Dress: possible bell-shaped dress extending to ground.

Clay, orange, grey core, coarse and gritty with black flecks;

8.1cm. ext. ht.

TYPE NN4 (No. 183)

No. 183 (Pl. 186, Fig. 108)

From Agia Triadha. Herakleion Museum No. 1804

Female

Posture: Type 4

Gesture: Type 4(e)

Head: rounded, with exaggerated pinched out nose and chin leaving two large eye depressions and indented mouth. Eyes painted in reddish-brown paint. Oval and moulded strips of clay applied for ears. Long, thick neck.

Torso: incurving sides for waist, coming down from arm extensions. Long, horizontal shoulders and rounded arms tapering to crude ends for hands. Two large, conical breasts applied onto flattened torso. Back flat and slightly incurving as figure leans forwards.

Lower Half: body widening below waist to large and rounded hips, thighs and buttocks. Legs brought forward horizontally - extending out and curving round to join at knees, leaving circular gap between legs.



Dress: (no indications) Small, cylindrical hat with traces of reddish-brown paint, set at angle on top of head.

Clay, orange-buff, pale buff slip, traces of paint, fairly coarse and gritty; 11.5cm. ht (seated).

TYPE PP4 (No. 164)

No. 164<sup>49</sup> (Pl. 187, Fig. 108b)

From Traostalos. Herakleion Museum No. 16575

Female

Posture: - (lower half missing)

Gesture: Type 4(c) with forearms inclined upwards.

Head: well moulded and modelled head revealing nose with nostril holes, eyes and eyebrows, incised mouth, and ears applied with holes pierced into them. Rounded crown.

Torso: sides narrowing to waist and with short, horizontal shoulders.

Moulded breasts (worn), evidently covered. Flattened back and convex front.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: jacket(?) covering torso and folded over in front (marked by incisions). Thin double belt tied round waist with end curled over above belt in centre. Beret type hat with thick, rounded brim and tassles(?) on top of head.<sup>50</sup>

Clay; 5.8cm. ht.

Three figurines of similar type from Hagia Triadha that were not available for study but are published<sup>51</sup> have been allocated to the following type group. They range from 7-10cm. in height.

TYPE QQ4 (AT1, AT2, AT3)

No. AT1 (Fig. 109)

From Hagia Triadha. Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(c)

Head: oval, with rounded crown. Featureless and worn.

Torso and Lower Half: irregular bell-shape extending to ground with flattened, crude arms pulled forwards from body.

Two small pellet breasts applied to torso.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground with possible traces of painted decoration.

Clay.

No. AT2 (Fig. 109a)

From Hagia Triadha. Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: (left arm missing) Type 3(b)

Head: oval, with slightly pinched out nose to fine ridge leaving eye depressions. Tilted back.

Torso and Lower Half: irregular bell-shape extending to ground with flattened, crude arms pulled out sideways and held up. Two conical breasts applied to torso.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground and small, cylindrical cap on back of head.

Clay

No. AT3

From Hagia Triadha. Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(?)

Head: oval, with rounded crown. Featureless.

Torso and Lower Half: bell-shape, with wide flare at base and two small pellet breasts applied to torso. Crude arms with flattened ends pulled forwards and raised up from body.

Dress: bell-shaped dress extending to ground.

Clay.

TYPE RR4 (Nos. 173, 184, +)

No. 173 (Pl. 188)

From Psychro. Ashmolean Museum No. AE596<sup>52</sup>

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 6 (a)(iii)

Head: oval, and much corroded, leaving indistinct facial features.

Hair moulded at back of head and brought round right shoulder where it hangs down by side of breast.

Torso: pulled in waist with large, exaggerated, moulded breasts projecting forwards and rounded. Gently sloping shoulders with long, thin, rounded arms corroded at the ends.

Lower Half: flaring into irregular bell-shape with posterior protruding at back, emphasised by incurving at base of skirt.

Irregular base.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt extending to ground with thick, double ringed belt round waist, and torso left exposed.

Bronze; 7.2cm. ht.

No. 184<sup>53</sup> (Pl. 189, Fig. 110)

From Agia Triadha Villa. Herakleion Museum No. 760

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 6(a)(iii)

Head: oval, but much corroded leaving indistinct facial features.

Hair gathered in bun(?) at back of head with possibly two locks falling down back to waist (but much corroded).

Torso: drawn in waist with large, exaggerated, moulded breasts projecting forwards and rounded. Gently sloping shoulders with more angular elbows but rounded forearms (right forearm missing).

Lower Half: flaring into irregular bell-shape with rounded back and centre front depressed giving effect of bent knees beneath skirt.

Dress: heavily flounced skirt in front with curved pleats at back going across skirt. Double ringed belt placed loosely round waist. Open-fronted and short-sleeved bodice converging into V-shape at waist and with straps round neck and down sides of breasts (much corroded).

Bronze; 13.2cm. ht.

A further two bronze figurines may be added to this type group that were not studied by the author, but are well documented.

From Agia Triadha.<sup>54</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 761

As above, with deeply flounced, bell-shaped skirt and more rounded and protruding posterior. Corroded and indistinct facial features. Both arms are raised in front of body with forearms held up to the head and hands covering the face. 7.5cm. ht.

Unknown Location.<sup>55</sup> Antikenmuseum, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, Inv.No. 8092

As above but with four flounces in skirt, and thicker waist band.



Fine facial features evident with nose, mouth and eyes. Hair gathered at the top of the head with a long, thick tress falling down the back of the head and coiled round and down the back. The right arm is raised with elbow bent and forearm held up to the head, which is inclined forwards into the hand. The left arm is crossed over the chest to the opposite shoulder. 18.4cm. ht.

TYPE SS4

No. 174 (Pl. 190, Fig. 110)

From Psychro. Ashmolean Museum No. AE597<sup>56</sup>

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(e) left arm inclined upwards.

Head: rounded, with tapering chin and indications of facial features by incision for eyes and mouth (nose corroded). Moulded ears.

Torso: small and square, with well modelled breasts covering most of front and rounded, thin and featureless arms with no elbow or wrist demarcations.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and extending to ground. Posterior protruding at back, emphasised by incurving of skirt in rear lower half and in centre front. Irregular base.

Dress: flounced skirt with horizontal incisions at back and high double ringed belt tied on right side round waist.

Bronze; 5.3cm. ht.

From the number of bronze female figurines from the Neo-Palatial period that have been well documented by other scholars,<sup>57</sup> but not studied by the author here, the following types have been noted:

TYPE TT4 (Fig. 111)

From Kophinas.<sup>58</sup> Herakleion Museum (Fig. 111)

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 6(a)(11)

Head: rounded, with flattened crown. Worn and corroded leaving indistinct features.

Torso: thick and squarish, with two small, moulded breasts. Near horizontal shoulders with thick, rounded arms - hands not defined. Straight-sided waist.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and descending to ground in bell-shape. Flattened profile except for protruding posterior.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt with uneven base and pulled in at sides leaving pleat wedge down both sides. Ringed belt held loosely round waist.

Bronze.

From Kophinas(?)<sup>59</sup> Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 6(a)(1)

Head: rounded, with indistinct facial features (much corroded)

Torso: thickly moulded with two rounded and protruding breasts.

Short, rounded shoulders and thick, rounded and featureless arms.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and descending to ground in bell-shape.

Flattened profile except for slightly protruding posterior.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt pulled in at sides forming triple pleat vertically down either side of skirt, and horizontal pleats across front and back of skirt. Thick double belt round waist.

Bronze.

From Psychro.<sup>60</sup> Boston Museum of Fine Art Inv.No. 64.2173

As above, but with smoother finish.

Bronze; 4.5cm. ht.

#### TYPE UU4

No. PK3 (Fig. 111)

From Palaikastro.<sup>61</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 1417

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 11

Head: oval, with indistinct facial features (much corroded) except for ear protrusions. Thick neck. Hair drawn up into small bun on top of head.

Torso: short, with incurving sides and well-rounded and large breasts. Slanting shoulders and rounded, thin arms with hands and elbows delineated. Incurved back.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and descending to ground in rounded bell-shape. More flattened front and rounded protruding posterior.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt with horizontal pleats. Open-fronted, long-sleeved, V-shaped bodice leaving breasts exposed. Ringed necklace or collar descending into long strip at back from neck to ground.

Bronze; 4.5cm. ht.

From Psychro.<sup>62</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 438

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 6(b)(ii)

Head: oval, with indistinct facial features and largely covered by hand. Thick neck. Thick locks descending down back.

Torso: short and thick, with incurving sides and large, well rounded breasts. Slanting shoulders and thick featureless arms. Slightly incurving back.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and descending to ground in rounded bell-shape with irregular base.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt with horizontal pleats (much corroded).

Bronze; 4cm.

TYPE WV4 (Fig. 112)

From Agia Triadha.<sup>63</sup> Herakleion Museum No. 759 (Fig. 112)

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 2(f)

Head: irregular and flattened projection. Featureless.

Torso: squarish, with long, slanting shoulders and slight incurving at sides. Incurving back and flattened front. Thin profile.

Lower Half: flaring out towards base, with slightly protruding posterior and flattened front.

Dress: bell-shaped skirt extending to ground and pulled in at sides.

Thick band round waist. (Hat on head?)

Bronze; 4cm. ht.



From Psychro.<sup>64</sup> Herakleion Museum Inv.No. 1833

As above but with smaller, more rounded head projection and less pronounced posterior. Much corroded. Arms thick and featureless and curved round in front of chest horizontally. 3.8cm. ht.

Three figurines<sup>65</sup> made of faience that were not examined by the author but which comprise a unique and important type from this period are added here:

TYPE WW4

No. KN1 (Fig. 113)

From Knossos. Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 4(a) (and inclined slightly downwards)

Head: finely modelled nose, ears and chin with eyes, eyebrows and mouth painted in, in fine detail. The hair hangs down the back of the head and neck to the shoulders with wavy lines painted in black to denote individual tresses, and round the forehead below hat line.

Torso: thin, with sharply drawn in waist and large, rounded, protruding breasts with nipples painted. Broad, rounded, near horizontal shoulders with arms extending forwards and downwards, and hands clearly indicated with palms upwards.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and extending down to ground in even and symmetrical but narrow bell-shape. Hollow.

Dress: A-line skirt extending to ground with double apron extending in two flaps down front and back of skirt and with painted decora-

tion (spots and spirals). Skirt painted with thin, horizontal lines with bottom edge painted with band of crosses. Short-sleeved jacket/bodice leaving breasts exposed and painted with small spirals. She holds a snake with the head in her right hand, tail in her left, and body coiled round her shoulders and torso. On her head she wears a high tiara with a snake coiled around it. A wide belt is worn round the waist, bracelets on both wrists, and a necklace - all painted in black and purple.

Faience.

No. KN2 (Fig. 114)

From Knossos. Herakleion Museum

Female

Posture: Type 3

Gesture: Type 3(b)

Head: as above

Torso: as above, except that the arms are outstretched sideways,

level with the shoulders and bent obliquely at the elbow.

Lower Half: flaring below waist and extending to ground with slight incurving below buttocks and sides before flaring again at base.

Dress: six thick, horizontal pleats with double apron painted in with crosses. Thick belt round waist and short-sleeved jacket/bodice leaving breasts exposed, and painted black. Low, round hat encircled with discs and surmounted by a spotted cat. She clutches a snake in each hand.

Faience.

ZZ4: Heads (Pl. 191, Fig. 115)

A single head, No. 226 from Phaistos, has been attributed to this period, although its exact context and date are not known. The gender of this head is equally uncertain, but due to the elaborate head-dress and comparison with known female heads of the preceding period it has been allocated to the female types. It has the familiar pinched out nose and chin, with indented mouth and large eye depressions. There are remnants of paint where the eyes were once painted. She has a thick, cylindrical neck and the hair is gathered into two buns on top of the head composed of thick coils of hair and linked by a loop of hair at the back of the head. There are traces of white paint on the face, black eyes, and reddish-brown paint around the neck.

The heads still extant on the female clay figurines of this period show much the same characteristics as the above. No. 222 of Type HH4 from Phaistos, for example, has the same type of exaggerated pinched out nose and chin with indented mouth and large eye depressions. In this example however, ears are applied and there is no hair evident, although they share the same kind of thick, cylindrical necks. No. 223 of Type II4 is set on a lower neck, has very large, oval ears and a thick, double lock of hair applied onto the top of the head and falling down its back to the neck. The nose and chin are pinched out in a similar fashion to the above, with deeply indented mouth and large eye depressions, though the head is tilted well back. No. 183 of Type NN4, from Agia Triadha, reveals the same form and method of construction as the above examples from Phaistos. In addition, the eyes are clearly painted in, and she wears a small, conical cap on top of her head. The neck continues to be thick and cylindrical,

and the head is tilted back.

The heads of the bronze figurines, although mostly extant, have been badly corroded and/or moulded with indistinct features. The female types, however, do reveal hair in different styles, which is more clearly visible than the facial features. No. 174 from Psychro has a high bun on her head; No. 184 from Psychro has possible tresses running down her back to the waist, and No. 173 of Type QQ4, from Psychro, has thick hair gathered round and over the right shoulder and hanging down the side. To mould elaborate hair styles and head-dresses in bronze to the same degree as an example in clay seen from the Proto-palatial period was almost impossible, one can be sure. And yet attempts were evidently made to differentiate hair styles amongst the female types, and thus maintain individuality from one figurine to another. These new types may reflect a 'toning down' of elaborate head-dress in favour of greater anatomical realism, the latter most characteristic of this period. For the clay figurines, however, the heads reflect a return to a cruder form of the 'pinching out' technique.



UNKNOWN TYPESTYPE AA5 (No. 233)

No. 233<sup>66</sup> (Pl. 192, Fig. 116)

From Zakros. Siteia Museum - (no inv.Number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: - (lower half missing and upper half rather 'twisted').

Gesture: (left arm missing) Probably Type 3

Head: oval, and pinched in at the top. Featureless and merging into body.

Torso: thin, and narrowing to waist. Flattened back and front and slightly 'twisted'. Featureless. Right arm pulled out and tapering to rounded-off point.

Lower Half: - (missing)

Dress: - (no indications)

Clay, pale orange-buff, traces of black paint, fairly soft; 3.8cm. ext. ht.

TYPE BB5 (No. 213)

No. 213<sup>67</sup> (Fig. 116)

From Mallia, Quartier E. French School Apotheke No. M.3358

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 3(?)

Gesture: Type 3(d)

Head: nose slightly pinched with fine ridge. Two holes pierced for eyes. Tilted back.

Torso: irregular and short, but rounded with two arm projections applied irregularly and covering most of torso. Rounded back with front pressed in between arms. Featureless.

Lower Half: extending down irregularly from waist, and flaring at

base with uneven edge. Solid and crudely moulded.

Dress: long dress extending to ground and slightly flaring at base. Gathered on left side in crude fashion. Semi-circular, thick band round top of forehead.

Clay, pale orange-buff, fairly soft; 3.5cm. ht.

TYPE OC5

No. 181<sup>68</sup> (Pl. 193, Fig. 117)

From Agia Triadha Villa. Herakleion Museum No. 1809

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5(b)

Gesture: Type 2(h)

Head: oval, with pinched out nose to fine central ridge and leaving two eye depressions. Running straight into thick, cylindrical neck without demarcation.

Torso and Lower Half: torso just visible above cylindrical container with long, rounded strips of clay applied for arms and looped round to front above rim and meeting in centre of featureless chest. Cylindrical container narrowing slightly at base and with thickened rim.

Dress: - (no indications). Traces of white paint on lower half with reddish-brown spirals superimposed. Traces of reddish-brown paint on neck, back of right shoulder and top of head.<sup>69</sup>

Clay, pinkish-buff, traces of white and reddish-brown paint, coarse, 10cm. ht.

Of the bronze figurines of this period two types of 'unknown' figurines have been identified, represented by one example each. They have not

been examined by the author but are well published, and therefore are added here:

TYPE DD5

No. *J10* (Fig. 118)

From Juktas.<sup>70</sup> Herakleion Museum

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 5

Gesture: Type 2(a)

Head: round with moulded chin, eyes and nose. Low, thick neck.

Torso and Lower Half: long, thin and cylindrical with slight incurving below arms, for waist. Arms angular, bent at elbow and held horizontally to chest, with long, sloping shoulders. Long, triangular tenon(?) at base. Featureless. Solid.

Bronze.

TYPE EE5

No. *J11* (Fig. 118)

From Juktas.<sup>71</sup> Herakleion Museum (no inv.number)

Unknown Sex

Posture: Type 2(b)

Gesture: Type 6(a)(11)

Head: rounded, with moulded eyes, nose ears. Corroded.

Torso: thin and rectangular, with sides narrowing to waist. Short, sloping shoulders and long, thin, featureless arms. Torso also featureless.

Lower Half: flaring slightly below belt and running straight down to

feet. Legs moulded separately with incurving at knees and ankles.

Dress: knee-length tunic(?) with band round waist pulling it it.

Bronze.

Another figurine, bought in Crete in 1935,<sup>72</sup> is of a similar type but has a smaller head and longer, slimmer legs.

### ZZ5: Heads

I. No. 237 (Pl. 194)

From Zakros.<sup>73</sup> Siteia Museum No. 2616

Wide and short, merging into a thick, cylindrical neck. Two small pellet eyes and an oblong nose are applied, and it wears a thin band round the forehead and extending round the back of the neck. Traces of brown paint can be found on the eyes and head.<sup>74</sup>

Clay; 3.2cm. ht. Neck: 2.0cm.

### II

From Mochlos. Herakleion Museum No. 5584 (Pl. 195)

Well moulded, triangular head with rounded-off chin and crown. Finely modelled eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth and ears. Hair in thick locks on top of head and contained within a thick, rounded and circular band round the head.

Clay; 3.7cm. ht.

### III

From Zou, Siteias.

Triangular, wide face with rounded crown. Pinched out nose and modelled, with two eye depressions inset with clay pellets for eyes. Two circular pellets of clay applied for ears. Thick neck. Head surmounted with a flat hat(?) with a wide thick brim containing small interjection at centre front.



### MALE TYPES

The most notable and apparent fact about male types of the Neo-palatial period is that they are almost all made of bronze. We have only one example made of clay, No. 232 of Type AA4 from Zakros. This figurine is unpublished and of uncertain context and may well belong to an earlier Proto-palatial level.<sup>75</sup> It is small and rather featureless with a straight-sided torso widening slightly at the hips. A codpiece is indicated and the buttocks show some degree of modelling. The left arm appears to be merely 'folded' over the chest in a small flap of clay pulled out from the shoulder.

The great number of bronze figurines attributed to this period of both known and unknown provenances has received a good deal of attention to date, and is well published.<sup>76</sup> Only a few of these were studied by the author, identifying certain important types, with additional types and examples identified and listed from published sources.<sup>77</sup>

Type BB4 represented by an example from the cave of Psychro, No. 170, is characterised by its rectangular and straight-sided torso running directly into the legs without interruption. The right arm is curved upwards with the hand resting on the side of the head and the left arm hanging down the side of the body. Both arms are featureless with rounded-off, stumpy ends. The body is flat and featureless except for the addition of a small codpiece and the rounded buttocks. The legs are held tightly together and the finish is altogether rough and crude with a small, round and featureless head. It is reminiscent of the featureless and straight-sided torsos of Type AA2.II of the Proto-palatial period although the gesture and posture are clearly indicated in this new type.

Type CC4 and its varieties *I-III* is one of the best represented type groups of male figurines during the Neo-palatial period, with two examples from Psychro actually seen, and further examples from this cave and other sites (Hagia Triadha, Archanes, Palaikastro, Skoteino and Tylissos) well documented in published sources. The torso is long and narrow with the waist drawn in and with well rounded shoulders and arms realistically modelled. The right arm is held up, with elbow bent and fist resting on the forehead, and the left arm is held down the side of the body with clenched fist.<sup>78</sup> In example No. 172 the hips widen below the belt with rounded buttocks and well modelled legs tapering down to the ankles and resting on triangular feet. Their heads are much corroded and featureless, but the hair is well modelled: No. 171 has clear cork-screw tresses, with one hanging down the right hand side of the torso and two down the back. They fall from a small bun(?) gathered at the top of the head. No. 172 has two long tresses almost extending to the waist and wears a long apron tapering to the lower calves in front, but only covering the buttocks at the back. A thick belt is worn around the waist. Additional examples of this type have been found at the cave of Skoteino and the settlement sites of Hagia Triadha and Palaikastro with one further example from Archanes. Variations in this group occur predominantly in the hair: the example from Psychro (Inv.no. BR.4294, p376 ) depicts a thick lock of hair visible from the crown of the head to the nape of the neck; the example from Hagia Triadha (Inv.no. 71879, p376 ) depicts the hair falling in tresses down the back and the example from Archanes (HM 2508, p.376 ) shows a rounded-off crown with no evidence of hair. The usual height is between 5.5cm. and 8.5cm., with the exception of

one from Psychro (Inv.no. BR 4294 ) which is 18cms. in height, and one of unknown location which stands at 18.1cm. in height. From Skoteino, one of the figurines (Inv.No. HM 2574, p.376 ) reveals a more incurved back than the other examples and the head is thrown further back, a posture used to emphasise the uprightness and tautness of the figures. With regard to dress,<sup>79</sup> the majority wear (except for one example from Skoteino, Inv.No. 2575, p. 377 )

which is much corroded but appears to depict an elongated codpiece without any apron) the long-fronted apron, extending to the knees in front with a shorter flap just covering the buttocks at the back. (Fig. 100)

The examples of Type CC4II, from Tylissos, Skoteino and Hagia Triadha retain the same basic form of the body and the same gesture except that the legs and arms are longer and 'bandier' in appearance and less well defined in their moulding. Their legs are predominantly set apart from the groin downwards, although their feet may be either set together (as in the example from Hagia Triadha, Inv. No. HM 752, p379 Fig.101) or apart and rest on a base. With the exception of the example from Skoteino (HM 2575 p377 ) which wears a long but rectangular apron in front, the remaining examples wear either short kilts (Tylissos) and/or belt and codpiece attachments.

Type CC4III, represented by one example from Juktas and one from Psychro, remain similar in form and gesture to CC4I and II but are less well defined and cruder all over.<sup>80</sup> Their legs and arms are thickly moulded and their legs held tightly together. They stand erect but their backs are less incurved, although their waists continue to be drawn in with hips widening below. The example from Psychro (Fig. 101)

wears a short kilt over a small but protruding codpiece, whereas that from Juktas wears only a belt and codpiece attachment.

The figurines of Type DD4I, II and III stand in marked contrast to other types of male figurines of this period in their apparent representation of wider and more thickly built individuals who do not have the characteristically drawn in waist, so typical of the Minoan male. This highly individualistic and naturalistic approach marks the height of Minoan achievement in small sculpture,<sup>81</sup> representative of either a very fat individual or an 'older' person who was no longer required to wear the tightly drawn in belt. The two examples of Type DD4I are both from Tylissos. They reveal well modelled bodies and limbs, though the latter (British Museum Inv. No. 1918) has more distinct facial features including protruding ears. Both wear kilts or aprons(?) over their codpieces, and wide belts around their waists. The former example (HM No. 1762) stands with legs apart and the whole body inclines forwards at an angle whereas the latter example stands upright with legs held tightly together.

The example from Agia Triadha (HM 2312, Fig. 103) of Type DD4II is similar in form to the above but has cruder and less well defined features all round: the head is oval and displays no facial features, the arms and legs are thickly moulded and without definition, the latter merged together into one block. The torso inclines backwards slightly and the codpiece protrudes below the belt in front, though no attempt was made to draw in the waist which retains a thick belt. It is noteworthy, perhaps, that this type is, to date, restricted to settlement sites, and does not appear in sanctuary contexts of areas of known religious activity.



Type DD4.*III*, with one example from Agia Triadha, like DD4.*II*, is rather crude with featureless limbs. The figure stands upright with a slightly incurved back and legs set tightly together. The waist is apparently not drawn in but continues straight down into slightly flaring hips. A belt and codpiece attachment only are visible and a curious, conical, cup-shaped hat stands high above the head (Fig. 103)

The example of Type EE4<sup>82</sup> shows a greater similarity to the CC4 type group with the longer, thinner torso and limbs and drawn in waist, but is nevertheless different: it has a much flatter and cruder profile with side and accentuated, angular shoulders. The legs are better moulded than the arms, and set apart with the left leg slightly forward and the knees slightly flexed. Thus the whole posture is more relaxed and, in addition, the gesture is quite different. The right arm is bent at the elbow with forearm held to below the chest, and left arm held down the side and slightly bent, and held away from the body. The head is oval, and the facial features distinctly moulded depicting eyes and eye-brows, nose, mouth and ears, and the hair is apparently short and surmounted by a small, rounded cap. The figure wears a loincloth only, and is 23.5cm. in height, larger than the majority of other bronze figurines. Its apparent provenance from Juktas and its uncertain date are perhaps instructive in its departure from more standard type forms (Fig. 104).

Type FF4, characterized by its short torso and elongated legs, is represented by an example from Katsambas, the port of Knossos. The waist is tightly drawn in with the hips flaring out below and the buttocks well rounded. The long legs are carefully moulded with indications of knees, calves and narrow ankles. Both arms

are curved round to the front of the body with hands touching in the centre but held away from the chest. He wears the characteristic belt with codpiece attachment and has an added flap falling behind and covering the buttocks. Most unusual is his tall, peaked hat which inclines backwards away from his head. His tresses fall in curls over his shoulders and down his chest in front. He wears bracelets on his wrists and a double, twisted band round his neck, and pointed calf-boots already witnessed on a few example of clay figurines of the Proto-palatial period, but added in paint (see p.382, Fig. 104).

The best represented and characteristic type of the Neo-palatial period is undoubtedly Type CC4 and its varieties *I-III*. Within this type group variations occur mainly in dress and hair and the degree of anatomical realism achieved, as indicated above. All retain a very standard posture and gesture, however - upright with the so-called 'saluting gesture' (Type 6 here) from which there is little deviation. A unique variation can be seen in the figurines of Type CC4.*I* of Uncertain Location<sup>83</sup> (Inv.no I.1904-2.1, Leyde). Here a well modelled and muscular male youth is depicted with incurved back and apparently upright stance (missing below the knees), wearing a short double kilt and thick belt with a flattened, circular hat on his head. His arms, instead of being held in the characteristic saluting attitude, are held close against the chest with elbows down and forearms bent upwards towards the face. Although the hands are now missing, they undoubtedly one covered the face<sup>84</sup> (Type 9 here).

Type DD4, represented by only a few examples, provides us with an interesting variation to an otherwise limited range of male forms. That difference is represented by the fact the waists are not drawn

in tightly but instead the figures are large and rounded, thus retaining their 'natural' outlines. Types EE4 and FF4 reveal a closer affinity to Type CC4, but present us with slight variations in their overall forms, as described above.

In terms of location the two main deposits of bronze figurines, found to date, came from Hagia Triadha and Psychro with additional, but noticeably fewer examples from Archanes, Juktas, Palaikastro, Tyliossos and Katsambas. The shift in emphasis both in the location and the material in which the figurines were moulded apparently coincided with the Neo-palatial period in which the majority, if not all, are dated.<sup>85</sup> With regard to location, it is noteworthy that this period saw a renewed interest in caves (Psychro in particular) as places of worship with only a few located on the peak sanctuaries which, in turn, showed a dramatic decline in popularity. This is suggestive of a more inward looking aspect associated with the people of the New Palaces (the peak sanctuaries representing the complete antithesis of this notion as they could be viewed from a far distance and provided a wide view around them for worshippers to see). This is strengthened by an increase in the number of figurines found in settlements - notably at Hagia Triadha.

The figurines themselves revealed two major differences from those of the preceding period: firstly the concentration on a new material from which the craftsmen cast the various types (bronze), and secondly a new level of naturalism which was achieved in the portrayal of the individual worshippers in bronze. Great inconsistencies were apparent in the degrees of naturalism attained, just as clay figurines of the previous periods revealed variations in technical competence and resultant form, within and between various



sites. That this is indicative of the products of different workshops and/or craftsmen or the difference between a rural and palace workshop is certainly a possibility, though difficult to determine with any certainty. What is far more certain is that figurines during the Neo-palatial period were far less popular in their use as votive objects reflected by the much smaller numbers found.<sup>86</sup>

In form, the male figurine types show a development rather than a change from the preceding period - a development enhanced by the new material which provided new possibilities for the craftsmen. They continue to constitute those elements which characterise the art of Crete during this period as 'Minoan', portraying as they did, a particular type of 'male' individual. Within the new range there was a wide spectrum, however, which extended from the portrayal of figures with the most elementary detail, to a new sophistication that was quite unparalleled in the period directly preceding or succeeding it.<sup>87</sup>



TABLE 26

LOCATION AND NATURALISTIC MALE TYPES FOR THE NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	AA4	BB4	CC4. <i>I</i>	CC4. <i>II</i>	CC4. <i>III</i>	DD4. <i>I</i>	DD4. <i>II</i>	DD4. <i>III</i>	EE4	FF4	
AGIA TRIADHA VILLA			1	2			1	1			5
ARCHANES			1								1
JUKTAS					1				1		2
KATSAMBAS										1	1
PALAIKASTRO			1								1
PSYCHRO		1	3		2						6
SKOTEINO			2	1							3
TYLISSOS				2		2					4
ZAKROS	1										1
UNKNOWN LOCATIONS			2								2
TOTALS	1	1	10	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	26

18

4

### FEMALE TYPES

The female figurines made of clay from the Neo-palatial period fall into nine different types, all represented by one example except for Type QQ4 which has three, but all from the same deposit at Hagia Triadha. They are restricted to settlement sites, except for No. 164 of Type PP4 which is from the peak sanctuary of Traostalos. The dating of this figurine is questionable however: it is normally associated with figurines from MMI and II but its finely modelled facial features are more closely paralleled with an example from Mochlos dated to MMIII.<sup>88</sup>

The two torsos of Type GG4, No. 234 from Zakros and *HM22.170* from Mallia, are surprisingly crude in their forms. They both have flattened profiles and sides that curve in and narrow at the waist. Onto the torsos small pellets of clay are applied irregularly for breasts, and the arms in the former example are narrow and tubular. They both retain their tenons which would have once been inserted into their bell-shaped lower halves.

Type HH4, the first of three types from Phaistos has been preserved intact. The torso is long and cylindrical with the sides narrowing slightly at the waist. The large, conical breasts are set high onto the torso and the arms meet in the centre of the chest below the breasts. The lower half of the figure, the bell-shaped, hollow skirt, is undoubtedly wheel-made though slightly pulled in at front and back. Its method of construction is emphasised by the form of the belt at the top of the skirt which forms a neat incurving rim on the outer edge of the skirt. This stands in marked contrast to the majority of female figurines of the Proto-palatial period where skirts were moulded by hand and the juncture of torso and

skirt secured and disguised by a variety of belts. This figure from Phaistos is representative of a far more stylized form which is more readily seen in the bell-shaped and larger figures of LMII and III, particularly from Karphi and Gazi.<sup>89</sup> Also notable in this figure is the absence of hair or a head-dress: the head would appear to be bald.

The torso of Type II4 from Phaistos is cruder and more thickly moulded although the head is very similar to the preceding type. The head is well tilted back, a common feature of the Proto-palatial period, and the breasts are small and rounded pellets of clay that have been applied irregularly onto the torso. The arms are thick and rounded and curved round to the front and inclined downwards where they meet in the centre: the ends are pressed together and flattened without any hands indicated. Type JJ4 from Phaistos has similar thick and rounded arms that are curved round to the front and crossed over the chest with the right arm higher. The bell-shaped lower half of this figure extends high up, to just below the arms, leaving a short but wide, featureless torso. The skirt is crudely moulded and hollow. It resembles the figurines of Type NN2I of the Proto-palatial period and characteristic of peak sanctuaries except that the torso is shorter and the skirt higher and it is clearly cruder with few additional attributes visible.

Type KK4, represented by one example from Agia Triadha, is curious in that the torso is well moulded with large, rounded breasts, the waist still retains a thick and wavy belt, and yet the long, oblong head is almost featureless. This is partly due to its worn state of preservation though it could have had detailed features.

Type LL4, represented by one example from the Royal Road Excava-



tions, has a long and rather flattened body with incurving sides and the remains of one small pellet of clay applied for a breast. The extant arm is thin and long and tightly bent round to the side of the chest. Below the waist the body flares outwards and may have been levelled off shortly below this point, but is otherwise completely featureless.

Of greater interest is type NN4 from the Villa of Agia Triadha represented by a large seated female figure. She is apparently naked and has accentuated features, with large and rounded breasts applied onto the torso, a small drawn in waist and large, rounded hips and buttocks. The legs curve round to the front, meeting at the knees, and the arms are portrayed in a lively manner, with the right brought forwards and inclined upwards and the left curved round to the front of the body and held horizontally. The whole of the upper half leans forwards. Her head, however, is inclined backwards and on it is a small, conical hat.

This figure shows great contrast to those of Type QQ4 from Agia Triadha with their altogether cruder forms, although their gestures are equally animated. They have oval and featureless heads, not dissimilar to type KK4 from Phaistos: the second, however, wears the same type of conical hat as the example in KK4. Their torsos and lower halves comprise irregular bell-shapes which apart from small, applied pellet breasts are featureless, and their arms are held forwards and upwards in a variety of directions, with crude flattened ends to denote hands.

The torso and head from Traostalos provides us with a unique exception to an otherwise crude group of clay figurines from this period, and could well be explained by the fact that it does not



belong to this period, as already indicated. It is noticable for its uncharacteristic facial features with finely modelled nose, eyes, eyebrows, mouth and ears, surpassing even that of the head from Mochlos of more certain MMIII date; and combined with its almost 'archaic' smile, it is not impossible that it belongs to a later period.<sup>90</sup> Its torso, however, remains fairly characteristic of examples from the Proto-palatial period, although the breasts, carefully moulded, are evidently covered. The gesture is not unknown from other examples from peak sanctuaries.<sup>91</sup>

What is apparent about the female terracotta figurines of the Neo-palatial period is that although they show a variety of types, they appear to be all isolated examples from domestic contexts. Furthermore, they demonstrate a return to a cruder form but one which, nevertheless, reveals a certain new stylization. This stylization led to a more static aspect to these figurines which once embodied the essence of life and individuality.<sup>92</sup> The example from Traostalos must remain an exception and be treated with reservation as its date is uncertain.

The female bronze figurines of this period, like their male counterparts, stand in marked contrast to the terracotta examples of the same period emphasising that the new skills in three-dimensional art had shifted to this new medium. Here we see well moulded and naturalistic examples, constituting five basic types, RR4 - VV4. As with the male bronze figurines there are two main deposits from which the females came, the villa at Hagia Triadha and the cave of Psychro, with additional examples from the peak sanctuary site of Kophinas and the settlement of Palaikastro.

Type RR4, represented by one example from Psychro, two from Hagia

Triadha and one of an unknown location, constitute the most characteristic type of female bronze figurine of this period, and are the best known.<sup>93</sup> Like the male bronzes they are characterised firstly by their upright stance and in some cases a saluting gesture. However, whilst their right arms may be raised to their foreheads their left arms are characteristically bent at the elbow with the hand resting on their hips, and not held rigidly by their sides. Their stance is altogether more relaxed and agile. Example No. 184 from Agia Triadha once had her face largely covered by her forearm and hand (now missing) with her head tilted forwards into it.<sup>94</sup> Of the two remaining examples, that of an uncertain location (Berlin Museum No. 8092) has one arm raised to her head with her left arm crossed over her chest to the opposite shoulder.<sup>95</sup> The figurine from Agia Triadha (Herakleion Museum No. 761) has both her arms raised with her two hands resting on her forehead and covering her face. The females of this type have drawn in and narrow waists with large, rounded and protruding breasts that give the torso the effect of inclining forwards. By way of contrast their posteriors protrude outwards in the opposite direction giving a sinuous and rounded profile to the whole body. This is particularly noticable in Example No. 173 from Psychro which has an added smooth finish. They continue to wear the characteristic bell-shaped skirts, with additional, deep V-shaped flounces and thick belts round their waist. No. 184 from Agia Triadha reveals the lower section of the V-shape opening of the bodice and slight traces of the top and side edges around the left shoulder. A thick, double belt is held loosely around the waist. The V-shape of the flounces and the incurving down the front centre of the skirt, once again give

the effect of 'movement' contrasting markedly with the rigidity of the male bronzes.<sup>96</sup>

No. 174 of Type SS4 from Psychro differs in form and style, although many of the same characteristics are maintained. The torso is shorter and squarer, with rounded but far less protruding breasts. The latter are now largely concealed by the right arm which is held horizontally in front of them across the chest. The waist is not as sharply drawn in, although the posterior continues to protrude and a thin double belt with hangings on the right side is worn. Below this the skirt gives a much flatter profile and the V-shaped flounces are shallow incisions with horizontal pleats at the back. The left arm is held in front of the body but inclines upwards towards the chin. The small head reveals a tapering chin and indications of facial features by careful incision for the eyes and mouth. The hair is gathered on top of the head in a small bun with a lock of hair hanging down from it. It is altogether more finely modelled with less accentuated features.

Type TT4, represented here by two examples from Kophinas and one from Psychro is best characterised by their more thickly moulded and cruder forms. Their torsos have short, rounded shoulders and smaller, less pronounced and rounded breasts. Their waists are thickly set and their arms rounded and featureless tapering towards the hands. Their gestures are more comparable to those of the male bronzes with the right arm held to the forehead in a saluting attitude, and the left held down by the side, close to the body. The skirts flare slightly below the waist to form the characteristic bell-shape and apart from slightly protruding posteriors the figures have a flattened profile. The skirts are not flounced and give the



appearance of being altogether 'unfinished' with irregular bases. The heads are rounded with indistinct features and much corroded.

Type VV4, represented by one example from Palaikastro and one from Psychro, is best characterised by their small and compact appearance. Their torsos are short and square with well rounded breasts. The example from Palaikastro has narrow arms and an attempt has been made to delineate the elbows and hands, the latter of which are placed on the hips. The example from Psychro is more corroded and worn and retains the more characteristic saluting gesture. In both cases the waist is slightly drawn in and the short, rounded, bell-shaped skirt extends to the ground and has quite distinct, horizontal pleats. The example from Palaikastro still retains evidence of the V-shaped opening at the base of the bodice and wears a curious collar round her neck. This descends down the back in a long strip as far as the ground and joins with the crown of the head in a strip down its back.

The example of Type VV4 from Hagia Triadha is not only crude but may well represent an example of poor craftsmanship. The head is a large disproportionate projection that has been quite flattened. The torso and lower half merge with only the most meagre delineation and evidence of a wide waist-band which is still apparent. The posterior protrudes slightly in an otherwise flattened profile and the back remains slightly incurved. The gesture is far more representative of those seen on clay figurines of the Pre-palatial period, perhaps revealing a return to a much earlier fashion. The arms are held close to the body with elbows held down and the forearms bent up towards the chin and lying on the chest. The shoulders of this figurine are long and slanting, extending out as far as the bottom



edge of the bell-shaped skirt, which in turn is crude and featureless. The example from Psychro of this type (HM 1833) is equally crude - the similarity most apparent in profile. This figurine, however, has a smaller head with a rounded crown and the arms are curved round to the front of the body horizontally. It is, however, almost identical in height to the former example.

The examples of Type WW4 are not only made of a different material, but are entirely restricted to the Palace of Knossos in location, and their uniqueness can be attributed to this fact. They are rarely omitted from any discussion on Minoan Crete, whether reflecting the high level of technical competence achieved in this field, or more commonly, as the centre of a discussion on Minoan religion when No. *KN1* is regularly cited as the Minoan Snake Goddess herself.<sup>97</sup> The use of faience for the moulding of figurines is entirely restricted to these examples, which, combined with the high degree of detail and the ornamental attributes, make them unique. These attributes are used at the expense of naturalism which despite the unusual gestures give a more rigid appearance to these figurines. No. *KN1* painted with white for the exposed flesh and background, with details added in orange, shades of purple, purplish-brown and black, has a thin and narrow torso with the waist sharply drawn in but with broad, near horizontal shoulders. The breasts are large and rounded and left exposed from the sleeved bodice. The long arms extend forwards and incline downwards with the hands clearly indicated, revealing the palms facing upwards as if in the act of 'offering'.<sup>98</sup> Below the waist the skirt flares slightly over the hips and extends to the ground in an even but distinctly long and narrow bell-shape, giving a certain elegance to these ornate figures. Traces of paint on earlier clay figurines indicate that these figurines too may once

have been brightly decorated, though it is doubtful that they were painted with the same degree of detail. It is perhaps their ornamental attributes that stand out most and in particular the presence of snakes. No. *KN1* holds a snake with the head in her right hand, tail in her left and its body coiled around her shoulders and torso. On her head she wears a high tiara with another snake coiled around it. No. *KN2* wears a low, round hat encircled with discs and surmounted by a spotted cat. She clutches a snake in each hand. The third figurine lacks the degree of preservation necessary to establish whether she was adorned with snakes or other attributes. The very location of these figurines in the repositories on the west side of the Palace of Knossos and belonging to a group of objects now attributed to the contents of a wealthy shrine must help to explain their unusual qualities and attributes, though their exact significance and use is much harder to ascertain and a question that will be more fully discussed in the next section.

Female clay figurines of the Neo-palatial period are conspicuous by their absence at present. Those female types that have been uncovered appear to represent isolated examples within domestic contexts and reflect a variety of standards and techniques - largely cruder and yet revealing a new stylization and staticness within this. Thus many lack the animated appearance of many of the clay figurines of the preceding period, whilst others are crude and careless. By way of contrast the bronze figurines are characterized by a new wave of naturalism unattained in clay in this period or the preceding one. Like their male counterparts they reflect a change in interest from clay to the use of bronze for three-dimensional art. There is less variation in terms of number of types than amongst the clay examples

of this period but greater variation in attributes. These include the type of bell-shaped skirts and the gestures in particular. The degree of naturalism attained from one type to another is indicative, perhaps, of the differing technical abilities from one craftsman to another, or from one workshop to another.

If the Palace workshops reflected the highest levels of technical competence and originality, then the faience figurines must stand out as the best representations of the differences in achievement that existed between urban and rural workshops. From the Palace centres the various forms and fashions must have been laid down and spread to other communities, but within them the best materials and abilities were exploited.



TABLE 27 : LOCATION AND NATURALISTIC FEMALE TYPES FOR THE NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	CLAY TYPES								BRONZE TYPES						FAIENCE	
	GG4	HH4	II4	JJ4	KK4	LL4	NN4	PP4	QQ4	RR4	SS4	TT4	UU4	VV4	WW4	
AGIA TRIADHA VILLA					1		1		3	2				1		8
KNOSSOS						1									2	3
KOPHINAS												2				2
MALLIA	1															1
PALAIKASTRO													1			1
PHAISTOS		1	1	1												3
PSYCHRO									1?	1	1	1	1	1		6
TRAOSTALOS								1								1
ZAKROS	1															1
UNKNOWN										1						1
TOTALS	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	1	3	2	2	2	27



### UNKNOWN TYPES

While the majority of the figurines in this group are complete, none displays sexual characteristics. They comprise five types, all represented by one example indicating their isolated nature and come from four sites. The two figurines from Juktas are bronze, and those from the three settlement sites, Agia Triadha Villa, Mallia and Zakros are made of clay.

The example from Zakros, No. 233 of Type AA5, being unpublished, is of uncertain date and context but has been attributed to the LMIB destruction level at Zakros: it may well belong to earlier levels however. It is small and crude with an oval and featureless head save for the top which has been pinched in. The body is narrow and featureless with the one extant arm pulled out to the side and tapering to its end. Its torso appears to be rather twisted, but its lower half is broken off. No. 213 of Type BB5 from Mallia Quartier E resembles figurines of Type GGI and II from the Pre-palatial period, but is more crudely modelled. The torso and lower half extend downwards in an irregular fashion and flare at the base where it is levelled off. The arms are crude cylindrical projections applied to the body, and the head, inclining backwards, is slightly pinched out at the nose forming a fine ridge with the eyes formed by piercing two small holes. Its miniature size and crude form are more akin to Pre-palatial figurines.

Type CC5, represented by one example from Agia Triadha Villa, No. 181, is as unusual as No. 183 of the female Type NN4 group with which it was found. It has an oval and featureless head except for the pinched out eyes and resembles the head of No. 182 of the female type KK4 from Agia Triadha. The upper half of the torso is just

visible with two long and thin arms curved round to the front and meeting in the centre. The rest of the figure is concealed within a crude, cylindrical container with a thickened rim and once decorated with reddish-brown spirals on a white background. Traces of red paint on top of the head and behind the shoulder indicate that the figure may be intended to represent a male, but this is difficult to ascertain with certainty.

Of the two bronze figurines from Juktas, that of Type DD5 is the most featureless with its long, thin and cylindrical body with slight incurving at the waist. Its short arms are bent at the elbow and held to the side of the chest. Only the head contains any detail, with the eyes and nose apparently moulded.<sup>99</sup> The whole figure culminates in a long, thin tenon whose use is uncertain.

Type EE5 depicts a characteristic gesture of bronze figurines of this period with the right arm held up to and resting on the forehead (Type 6 here, or more commonly known as the 'saluting gesture') and the left held tautly down the side of the body. The figure shows no distinguishing sexual characteristics however, but wears a short tunic drawn in at the waist by a thin belt, with two shapely legs set apart below this.<sup>100</sup> The head is moulded with facial features, including ears, but is apparently bald, and like the former figurine has a tenon, but here emerging below a thin base which the figurine stands upon.

The figurines of unknown sex of this period are few, and each type represented by only one example; three of which are from domestic contexts and one from the peak sanctuary of Juktas. Thus they are all unique in themselves and reflect, perhaps, isolated off-shoots of more common forms for more domestic purposes.

TABLE 28:

LOCATION AND NATURALISTIC UNKNOWN TYPES FOR THE NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	AA5	BB5	CC5	DD5	EE5
AGIA TRIADHA VILLA			1		
JUKTAS				1	
MALLIA		1			
ZAKROS	1				

## HEADS

The three heads discussed, representing three different types made of clay and from three different settlements, may all belong to male figurines. No. 237 from Zakros retained traces of brown paint on the eyes and head indicating that it may have been male, and II and III from Mochlos and Zou respectively have both been claimed as representing male heads, particularly the example from Mochlos which is regarded as portraying male features. This is certainly possible though by no means certain. We have seen in the Proto-palatial period that male and female heads often overlapped in their forms, and the closest comparison to this head is the one from Traostalos which I regard as being female. The example from Zou, Siteias, may be equally well be male or female: it is often compared to the head of the figurine from Chamaizi which I have identified as hermaphrodite depicting breasts and yet a male form.

Of the heads that still retain their torsos and lower halves from this group, two, Nos. 233 of Type AA5 and 181 of Type CC5, reveal oval forms with slight pinching for the eyes. They merge straight into thick, cylindrical necks and are totally featureless. No. 213 of Type BB5, from Mallia, has a slightly moulded nose and two pierced holes for the eyes set into a more rounded head, though remains crudely modelled. Its miniature scale may have limited its detail, being only 3.5cm. in total height.

The two bronze figurines from Juktas, Types DD5 and EE5, reveal an attempt at modelling of the eyes and nose with the latter depicting additional small moulded ears. They both have rounded and apparently bare heads but have suffered from corrosion.



# CHAPTER 10: Footnotes

1. This is the publication number in Pelon, O., Et. Cret. XVI, Mallia Maisons III: Le Quartier E 1963-1966 (1970) No.91, E63/23, Fig. 3(b). This figure was studied with kind permission of Professor Poursat at the French School, Mallia.
2. ibid. 47, pl. xiv, E64/51, Fig. 3(a). This figure was not seen or personally studied, and no measurements are given in the publication.
3. ibid., No. 270, E63/25, Fig.3(c).
4. This is similar to figurine No. 209 from Quartier Mu of the Schematic Type E2.I group of the Proto-palatial period, particularly the body, although there the shoulders were moulded horizontally. The head of No. 209 is much larger and inclines backwards. It was paralleled to the Schematic Type D group of the Pre-palatial period.
5. This figurine was not studied or seen by the author, but has been published by Professor N. Platon in Ergon 1969 (1970) No. 17, 183, pl.228. There is no publication number and no record of where the figurine is situated now.
6. Pelon, O., 1963-6 op.cit., No. 90, E63/19, Fig.2
7. Its overall form may be paralleled with the Schematic Type B group of the Pre-palatial period. It is unfortunate that the head is much worn and the shoulders chipped off.
8. This figurine is unpublished, but studied with kind permission of Professor N. Platon. It had no inventory number. It may be paralleled with the Schematic Type C group of the Pre-palatial period, although it has no shoulders and is smaller all round.
9. This represents the publication number in P. Demargue and H. Gallet de Santerre, Et. Cret IX, Mallia Maison I, 1921-1948 (1953), 57,

- pl.xvi. It was not studied by the author.
10. Unpublished, and studied with kind permission of S. Hood. It has been grouped with the Royal Road figurines but in actuality comes from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen excavated by Evans.
  11. Unpublished, but studied with kind permission of S. Hood.
  12. Unpublished, but studied with kind permission of Professor N. Platon. It had no museum inventory number.
  13. Boardman, J., CCO 1960, pl.11, No.6; Verlinden, C., *Les Statuettes Anthropomorphes Crètoises en bronze et en Plomb du III<sup>e</sup> Millénaire au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle Av. J-C*, 1983, 199, No.87, pl.40.
  14. *ibid.* pl.1, No.2; Verlinden, C., 1983, *op.cit.*, 187, No.25, pl.11.
  15. Although the lower half is missing the gender of this figurine has been estimated by comparison with other male figures of this period.
  16. Boardman, J., 1960, *op.cit.*, pl.1; Verlinden, C., 1983, *op.cit.*, 191, No.39, pl.20.
  17. Probably from Psychro - purchased in 1884. See Verlinden, C., 186-7, No.20, pl.7; Davaras, K., BCH 1969, 630, No.21, fig.6, pl.xiv; Majewski, K., *Archaeologia*, 25, 28, fig.7; Boardman, CCO, 6, n.2, 7.
  18. See Verlinden, C., 1983, *op.cit.*, 115, 192, No.40, pl.20; Borda, Pigorini, 80, pl.lix, 1; Davaras, BCH 1969, 631, No.35; Boardman, J., *op.cit.*, 6, n.2; Halbherr, Stefani and Banti, *Annuario* 1977, 125, fig.86.
  19. From the Temenos Area dated to MMIII.  
See Verlinden, C., 1983, *op.cit.*, 30-31, 192, No.41, pl.21; Alexiou, *Deltion* 1963, 312; Davaras, BCH 1969, 632, No.46, and AE 1977, 115.

20. See Davaras, C., 'Trois Bronzes Minoens de Skoteino' AE 1977 (1979), 109ff., pl.xia-c, No.1 for detailed description.  
Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 192, No.44, pl.22.
21. ibid., pl.xiia-c, No.3 for detailed description.
22. Apparently genuine despite uncertain context. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 187, No.24, pl.10.
23. The sex of this figurine is estimated by comparison with other similar torsos of this type and material. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 192, No.43, pl.22.
24. Despite the uncertain location of this figurine it is apparently genuine. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 187, No.22, pl.9.
25. See Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 80, 188, No.26, pl.11; Hazzidakis 'Villas', 71-2, 95, pl.xxvii; Davaras, AE 1977, 116, No.5; Zervos, C., L' Art de La Crète, Neolithique et Minoenne' 1956, fig.502-3.
26. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 118, 194, No.54, pl.27.  
Probably from Tylissos but exact location unknown.
27. Davaras, C., AE 1977 (1979), 109ff., pl.xia-c, No.2. Dated to LMI.
28. More reminiscent of that worn by male figurines from Piskokephalo made of clay in the preceding period. (See P.256Pl.71-72)
29. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 122, 198, No.80, pl.37. Davaras, AE 1977, 116, No.90; Halbherr, Stefani and Banti Annuario 1977, 125, fig.86.
30. Marighiannis, Antiquités, X, pl.xxvi, I. Also see Verlinden, 1983 op.cit., 193, No.48, pl.24.
31. Karetsou, A., Ergon 1975 (1976), 176, pl.175(a). No publication or inventory number was given.



32. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 193, No.49, pl.25; Hogarth, BSA 1899-1900, 107, pl.x,8; Davaras, BCH, 1969, 630, No.30, and AE 1977, 117, No.30.
33. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 195, No.58, pl.29.
34. Despite the unknown location of this figurine it is apparently genuine. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 193, No.46, pl.23.
35. This figurine was from House A at Tylissos, of Hatzidakis I, Tylissos a l'époque Minoenne, 1921, 58-60, pl.via-c, and Les Villas Minoennas de Tylissos, 1934, 95, pl.xxvi; Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 76-78, 189, No.30, pl.14; Davaras, AE 1977, 116, No.4; Evans, PMII, 47; III, 449-50, 461, fig. 313a-b.
36. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 78-79, 90, 189, No.31, pl.15; Davaras, AE 1977, 117, No.9; Muller, Plastik, 48, pl.xiv, No. 242; Evans, PMIII, 449-50, pl.xxxix, cl-3.
37. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 118, 194, No.55, pl.27; Davaras, AE 1977, 116, No.93.
38. Halbherr, Stefani, Banti, Annuario 1977, 125, fig.26. See also Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 197, No.77, Pl.35.
39. Acquired from Crete in 1907. Probably from Juktas. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 184, No.11, pl.2; Davaras, AE 1977, 120; Lamb, Bronzes, 24-5, 28, No.12, pl.lxc; Muller, Plastik, 47, 51, pl.xiv, No.237.
40. Evans, A., PMII, 234-5, Fig.132; and Hatzidakis, I., Deltion 2 1916 (1917), 168, Fig.3.
41. Unpublished and studied with kind permission of Professor N. Platon. Of unknown context and therefore possibly belonging to earlier Proto-palatial deposits.
42. H. Van Effenterre - Y. Tzedakis. Deltion 32, 1977 (1982) A,



- 181, pl.75(a), 'Matériel inédit des premières fouilles au Palais de Mallia'. Also see Mallia Maison I Et.Cret.IX, pl.xvi, 280 (Herakleion Museum No.22.170).
43. Unpublished, and studied with kind permission of Professor di Vita of the Italian School of Archaeology, Athens.
44. See n.36 above.
45. No breasts are indicated on this figurine but the form and bell-shaped skirt have been taken to be indicative of a female figure.
46. See n.36 and n.37 above.
47. Unpublished, and studied with kind permission of S. Hood. Although placed with the Royal Road figurines in the Stratigraphical Museum this figure appeared to come from Hogarth's Houses excavated by Evans.
48. This is not certain as the figurine is incomplete.
49. This figurine has been published by Davaras, C., in Guide to Cretan Antiquities, 1976. The date of this figure is very uncertain: Davaras includes it within the context of other MMI figures from peak sanctuaries, but I would rather see it as MMIII or later.
50. Alternatively the tassles may represent short locks of hair emitted from the top of the head with a thick band worn round the forehead and behind.
51. Banti, L., Annuario, Vol.3-5 N.S. 1941-1943 (1948), 20-21, Figs. 8(a), (b), (c). Few details are provided for these figurines other than the publication photograph and a mention that they are crude but still retain their bell-shape. A figurine of similar form, but made of bronze, can be seen from Psychro. It is

- much corroded but displays many similar features, in its crude and irregular shape particularly to *AT2*. The oval head wears a rounded cap and the breasts are small, rounded discs placed high on the chest, both features more reminiscent of clay figurines. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 199, No.92, pl.42.
52. Boardman, J., 1961, op.cit., No.23; Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 199, No.37, pl.18.
  53. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 190, No.34, pl.17; Banti, L., 1941-3 *ASAtene* Vol.III-V N.S. 18-19; Maraghiannis, *Antiquités Crétoises* I.
  54. Maraghiannis, *Antiquites*, X, pl.xxvi, 3. Banti, *Annuario*, 1941-3, 19, n.1. Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 191, No.35, pl.17.
  55. Possibly from the Troad but apparently genuine. See Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 190, No.31, pl.16.
  56. Boardman, J., 1961, op.cit., No.24; Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 186, pl.6, Fig.19.
  57. In particular Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., and Davaras, C., *BCH* 1969, op.cit., 630ff., and *AE* 1977, 109ff.
  58. Alexiou, S., *Deltion* 19 1964 (1967), Vol B 3 'Συλλογή Μεταξα' 437, pl.514(d).  
Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 196-197, No.71, pl.34.
  59. See Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 185-186, No.17, pl.6.
  60. Very probably genuine. See Cornstock, M., and Vermeule, C., 'Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston' 1971, 4, No.1. Also Davaras, *AE* 1977, 115, 124, No.81.  
Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 186, No.18, pl.6.
  61. Bosanquet, R.C., and Dawkins, R.M., "The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations" *BSA Supplementary Paper* No.1 1902-1906, 122, Fig. 103.

- Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 196, No.68, pl.32.
62. Boardman, 1961, op.cit., 6, n.2; Davaras, BCH 1969, 634, No.51; Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 196, No.69, pl.33.
63. Halbherr, Stefani and Banti, Annuario 1977, 125, fig.86; Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 123, 199, No.89, pl.41.
64. Boardman, CCO 1960, 9, n.2; Verlinden, 1983 op.cit., 199, No. 91, pl.42.
65. From the Temple Repositories at Knossos and the faience figurines. See Evans, A., PM (1921-1935) Vols.I, 469, 486, 495, 500-12; IV, 159, 176-7.
66. Unpublished, but studied with kind permission of Professor N. Platon. The figurine had no inventory number or excavation number though it was recorded to have been recovered on 13.8.69. It was found in the south-east area of the palace but its exact context and date are unknown to the author. It has been attributed to the destruction level of LMIB although it may belong to an earlier period.
67. Published by J. Deshayes and A. Dessenes. Et.Cret. XI, Mallia Maison II 1948-54, pl.LIII, Fig.3 (centre).
68. Banti, L., Annuario I-V N.S., 1939-41, 20, Fig.7.
69. The evidence of the reddish-brown paint on the head and shoulders would suggest that this figure is male, though it is not certain.
70. Karetsou, A., ΠΑΕ 1974 (1976), 229, 236, pl.175 (a)(d). Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 184, No.9, pl.2.
71. Karetsou, A., Ergon 1980 (1981), 46, Fig.102. Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 185, No.11 bis, pl.3.
72. The exact location of this figurine is uncertain and is now in the Benaki Museum in Athens. Verlinden classes it as a male figurine,



- 1983, op.cit., 185, No.12, pl.3.
73. Unpublished, but studied with kind permission of Professor N. Platon. It is recorded as having been recovered on 24.8.71 from 'κτηριον ΒΔ του Β Δωματιου ΝΔ αποθετου διαδρομου Ε'.
74. This would suggest that it belongs to a male figure although this cannot be ascertained with any certainty.
75. Platon, N., *Ergon* 1956 (1957), 110. Apparently came from Room Z which may have been designated as a shrine area.
76. In particular and most recently Colette Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., (see n.13) has published an extensive survey. This apart, Davaras has provided us with a useful catalogue of male and female figurines depicted with the 'saluting' gesture, initiated by his publication of the three bronze males from Skoteino. (cf. BCH 1969, 630, and AE 1977 (1979), 109.)
77. Because of the extent of published information on these figurines it seemed unnecessary to give full details of each in this thesis. Of greater importance was the establishment of the various types with examples to illustrate each one.
78. This gesture represents the so-called 'saluting' gesture. 'Οἱ λάτρεις αὐτοὶ ποὺ καμιά φορά εἶναι γνωστοὶ καὶ ὡς "σεβίζοντες" εἶχαν τὴν πιὸ χαρακτηριστικὴ στάση λατρείας τῶν Μινωιτῶν, ... μιὰ στάση ἀνάλογη μὲ τὸ σημερινὸ στρατιωτικὸ χαιρετισμὸ'
- Davaras, C., AE 1977 (1979), 109, Colette Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 90, 176, 267, stresses the variety of gesture, but in particular the saluting gesture.
79. See Chapter 11, part 2(d) for a discussion on dress and adornments throughout the periods. This type of male dress is well represented on bronze figurines of the Neo-palatial period.



80. Collette Verlinden, 1983, op.cit., 86, 112, refers to the cruder human forms as 'Le Style Classique' as distinct from 'Le Style de Princes'. For the former she says, "elles ne possèdent cependant ni la qualité d'exécution, ni la touche de génie artistique que des statuettes du "style des Princes" . Pourtant, elles se définissent par le même style dynamique et spontané, aux formes naturelles et "impressionnistes", résultant cependant d'un modelage moins soigné" (p.112). Of the latter forms she says ... "les formes du corps humain sont rendues avec naturel, précision et spontanéité" (p.86).
81. Collette Verlinden would see them, for this reason, as representative of the "Style de Prince" 1983, op.cit., 86, except for the figurines of Type DD4.II-III which are distinctly cruder.
82. I am not entirely convinced that this example is male. Although it wears a loincloth there appear to be two small breasts on the torso that protrude quite distinctly in profile. Given the overall crudity of the torso it is unlikely that they represent pectoral muscles. However, because the figurine has not been seen or studied here, I cannot conclude with any certainty whether it is male or hermaphrodite.
83. P. 377 n.24 above. Also Davaras, C., BCH 1969, 644, fig.14 (Adorant de Crète, Leyde).
84. This is more reminiscent of certain female bronze figurines from Hagia Triadha cf. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., No.35, 82-86, 191, pl.17, (HM 761); Davaras, AE 1977, 124, n.9; Majewski, Archeologia 1954, 25, pl.1x; Marighiannis, Antiquités, 10, pl.xxvi, 3.
85. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., would rather date those from the peak sanctuary sites as belonging to the Proto-palatial period. As

these sanctuaries continued to be visited into the succeeding period I would rather see them as being dated to this latter period.

86. The possibility that bronze figurines were looted from sanctuary areas at a later date and the metal re-used in different forms must be taken into consideration. Looting occurred throughout antiquity to the present day and thus may account for the distinctly smaller number of bronze figurines found from this period.
87. What Colette Verlinden would term as the 'Style de Princes' ...  
"les formes du corps humain sont rendue avec naturel, précision et spontanéité."
88. Seager, R., 'Explorations in the Island of Mochlos' 1912, 49, IV, 16. Figs 20 & 21.
89. See Alexiou, S., 'Η Μινωική Θεα μεθ' ὑψιμενων χειρων', Kr.Chr. I B' , 1958, 179-299, for a full survey of the figurines. Also Laviosa, C., Annuario XLI-XLII (1963-4), 23, for the development of these later figurines in the preceding periods.
90. Some peak sanctuaries continued to be used after the Proto-palatial period, though the exact context of this figurine is unknown.
91. In particular one from Prinias (see p293 , pl.81 ) and one from Chamaizi (see p.268, pl.85 ).
92. In particular one might recall those figurines of the preceding period that attempted to denote a sense of 'movement' in the sinuous outline of their lower halves: e.g. Types QQ2 and SS2
93. They have been used in the identification of similar female types within the Aegean and most particularly those clay figurines from the Island of Kea. The latter showed many similarities in form

and attributes with the bronzes from Crete and have consequently led to discussion on Minoan contact and influence within the rest of the Aegean world during this period. Cf. Caskey, J.L., Hesperia (1962) Vol. XXXI, 278-80; XXXIII (1964) 328-31; XXXV (1966) 369-71.

94. This has been interpreted as a possible 'lamenting' gesture, rather than one of adoration or worship, and there is little evidence to support or contradict this.
95. The position of the left arm crossed over the chest to the opposite shoulder has been seen within the clay female type groups in the preceding period. Here, however, the right arm was not held to the forehead, but crossed over the chest to meet the left arm (see p.280, Fig. 56). This gesture has also been noted in glyptic where it appears to be implemented during a ritual action or dance. This will be further discussed in Section IV, Chapter 11, 2(c).
96. This was first recognised in clay examples from the preceding period as in Type QQ2, Nos. 85, 102-104, and is undoubtedly an important aspect in the representation of female figurines. It is further discussed in Section IV, Chapter 11, 2(c)
97. A discussion on Minoan religion can be found in Section IV. I do not refer to these figurines as the 'Minoan Snake Goddess' and/or her attendants as I do not hold to this particular opinion. See Evans, A., PM I, 500; Marinatos and Hirmer, Crete and Mycenae, 1960, plate 70, and colour plate xxiv. Nilsson, MMR 1950, 311, discusses them in their capacity as goddesses. Matz, F., "Göttererscheinung und Kultbild in Minoischen Kreta' Mainz Akad.d.Wiss. u.d.Lit. Abhandl.d.Geistes u. Sozialwiss. Kl. (1958) No.7, 412,

- and Crete and Early Greece, 1962, 127, 152, stands in opposition to this view, supporting their interpretation as 'votive objects'.
98. The presence of faience robes in the same deposit may well strengthen the case that these were amongst the offered objects denoted by the gesture itself. The offering of robes is known from Classical Greek times. See Rouse, W.H.D., Greek Votive Offerings: an essay in Greek Religion, 1902, esp. 348-363.
99. This has been ascertained from the published photographs, but it was not seen and studied here.
100. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 184, No.11 bis, pl.3, acknowledges at least one of these figurines as being male.



## PART IV: INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

### Chapter 11:

#### 1(a) Introduction

The evidence has now been provided and the figurines have been identified as belonging to various types within their particular groups and periods. The hardest task of all now remains, that of interpretation.

In Part I, Chapter 1, we examined the various contributions that have been made over the years to the study of particular aspects or groups of Minoan figurines. There is no need to repeat our summary of these works. What can be added, however, is the fact that in many cases the tendency towards religious interpretation superseded the actual evidence.<sup>1</sup> The result of this is that one becomes convinced that 'religion' is the banner under which groups of objects whose meaning is not easily determinable are always placed. This is not to discount religious significance where there is good evidence to support it, however: it is where there is no additional or supporting evidence that caution must be exercised.

The figurines presented us with many complications in a number of ways:<sup>2</sup> evidence for context was often lacking in archaeological reports; many figurines were unpublished and/or unavailable for study; sites have suffered from continuous looting from antiquity to the present day; the figurines themselves contained a number of different attributes in varying combinations, even if the form remained the same, and a great majority were incomplete or isolated fragments. It was for all these reasons that a typological procedure was established,<sup>3</sup> based firstly on the typological methods laid down in the past and secondly, the experience of failure in these works to accommodate the

various problems when tackling a complicated body of material.

There are two aspects involved in reaching a successful interpretation of the figurines, born out by the evidence and in the typological procedure laid down. There is no hierarchical order in the two points, both are intimately connected and run parallel with one another.

- 1) The interpretation of the contextual evidence of the figurines including the sites' geographical location, the nature of the site, the context of the figurines, the deposits and the associated assemblage throughout the Pre-, Proto-, and Neo-palatial periods.
- 2) The interpretation of the figurines as they present themselves to us: that is, what do the different types within the various groups that have been identified mean? Equally important are their attributes: that is, what is the significance of gesture, posture, the different forms of the body, their dress and adornments?

The former point provides us with the possibility of knowledge of their 'meaning' and where contextual evidence is lacking one may compare the figurines with those for which contextual evidence is available. The second point, whilst extending our knowledge of 'meaning' provides us with a greater understanding of the 'significance' of the figurines as presented in their forms and attributes. Combined, we may obtain a fuller picture of 'what they are all about'. Let us return to the first point and the question of distribution.

#### (b) Distribution (Map 1. Table 29)

Figurines from forty sites were studied of which sixteen were tombs and burials, eight peak sanctuaries, three caves, and thirteen settlements (including the four palaces of Knossos, Mallia, Phaistos and

Zakros). These sites are all located in the northern, central, southern and eastern sections of the island and many were concentrated around the large palace centres from the Proto-palatial period onwards. In the north-east section of Crete, for example, between the palace of Zakros and the modern town of Siteia, the peak sanctuary sites of Piskokephalo, Prinias, Petsopha, Traostalos and Zou are located. To the south of Knossos lies the peak sanctuary of Juktas and not too far distant, Archanes and Tylissos. In the central southern section of the island where the palace of Phaistos and the Villa of Agia Triadha stand dominant, the peak sanctuary of Kophinas is located.

This same southern section of the island sees a major concentration of figurine-producing sites during the Pre-palatial period (see Table 30). These are mainly tomb sites situated in the Mesara valley. Evidence for settlements in this period is scanty, though Myrtos and Vasiliki have provided us with a wealth of information for Early Minoan towns. Both are located in the south-eastern part of the island. For the north of the island, tomb deposits have yielded figurines, namely Archanes, Tekes and Samba,<sup>4</sup> with the cave of Trapeza standing isolated in the central area of Crete.

The Proto-palatial period witnesses a predominance of figurines found on peak sanctuary sites. Many of these are located in eastern Crete with the exception of Juktas in northern central Crete and Kophinas in the south. The number of peak sanctuaries listed here (see Table 29) is by no means representative of the actual number known to exist: more than fifty sites have been identified as such to date, though most are still confined to the eastern half of the island.<sup>5</sup> The mountainous and pastoral nature of the eastern regions of Crete can be no coincidence in the location of most peak sanctuaries in this area.<sup>6</sup> The settlement pattern in Minoan Crete is also indicative: the major palaces



and villas are all located in the central, northern and southern areas and the eastern section of Crete, and peak sanctuaries would have served the needs of all the communities, large and small.<sup>7</sup>

The Ayiopharango Valley survey carried out in south Crete<sup>8</sup> helps demonstrate many of the above topographic points, even if on a smaller scale. Here, each identified 'peak sanctuary', E4A, E12, E18, W11, MoW1, appears to 'overlook' a small farmstead/community and associated tholos tomb. The conclusions drawn from this suggested that each of these 'hills' provided a shrine for the particular family or clan, and the tholos provided a burial place. Furthermore, site E12, situated in the centre of the valley, may have served as the focus for the whole valley populace and not just an individual farmstead. From the survey results and other subsequent evidence Bintliff<sup>9</sup> and Peatfield<sup>10</sup> have suggested a hierarchy of peak sanctuary sites. Peatfield has taken this one step further in identifying Juktas at the head of this hierarchy, confirmed by the nature and quality of both the architecture and the finds.<sup>11</sup> Such a hierarchy would certainly help explain the variation in their size and assemblages, the richness of the finds from one peak sanctuary to another, and their relative proximity and distance from the palaces and smaller communities.<sup>12</sup> The growing central organization of the palaces, and particularly Knossos, must at least be responsible for the appearance of built structures on certain peak sanctuaries in MMIII,<sup>13</sup> though this would not have diminished the importance of the smaller peak sanctuaries to outlying, rural communities. The latter may have converged on the major sanctuaries for bigger festivals, which would in turn help explain the variation in types and quality of execution of figurines from the larger peak sanctuaries.



The location of figurine-producing sites of the Neo-palatial period reveals an interesting change from the predominance of peak sanctuaries in the former period to settlements and caves in the latter period. Only a few of the peak sanctuaries are still represented, namely Juktas in the north, Kophinas in the south and Traostalos in the east, if the dating of these figurines can be attributed to this latter period.<sup>14</sup> Many more figurines have been found in settlements and caves, particularly Agia Triadha and Psychro, which yielded the largest numbers.

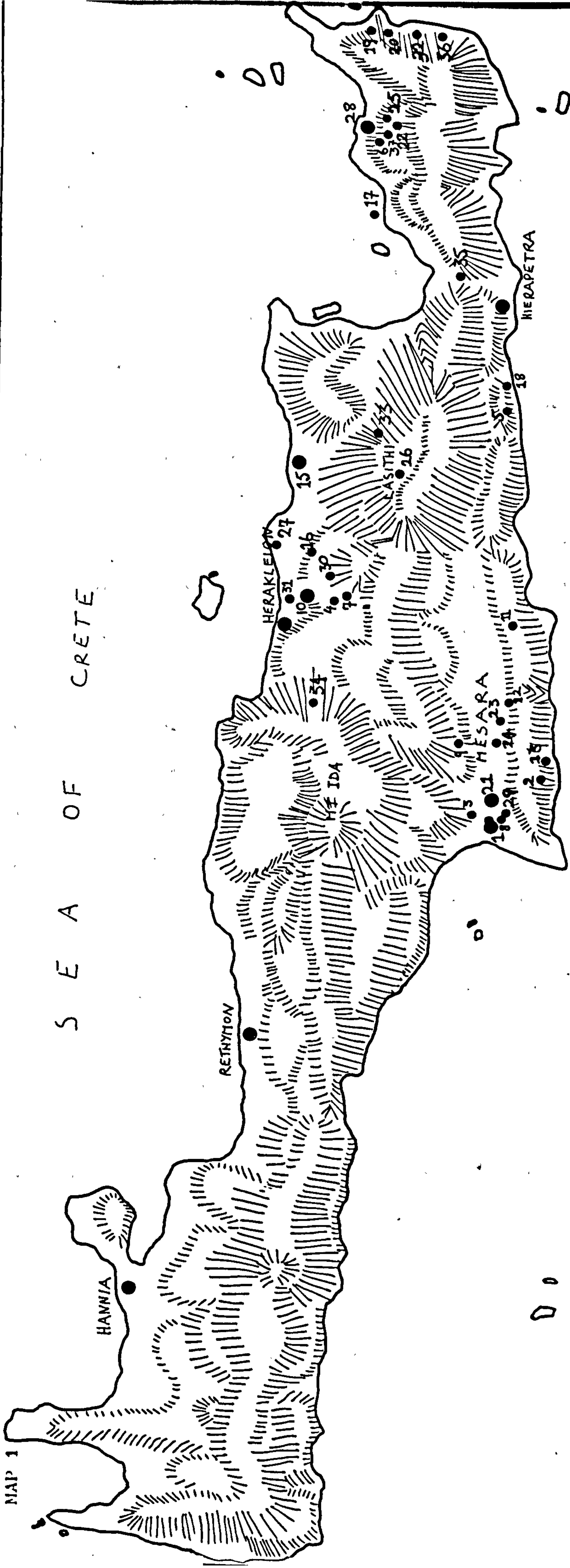
In conclusion, it may be argued that the distribution of figurine-producing sites tended to follow the pattern of population concentrations and related religious activity areas throughout the periods. Hence during the Pre-palatial period the fertile Mesara valley of southern Crete, together with Myrtos and Vasiliki further east, and the small area around Knossos, produced most figurines, even if of a localized nature. These areas undoubtedly reflect the major centres of population growth at that time. With the establishment of the palaces and the flowering of peak sanctuaries (the concept of which was already known and demonstrated in the Ayiopharango Valley survey) the distribution of figurines changed accordingly, and particularly to peak sanctuaries where the major religious activities outside settlements took place. The Neo-palatial period saw a final return to the population centres but also caves, the latter bearing witness to a new area of religious activity outside the settlements.

## DISTRIBUTION OF SITES WITH FIGURINES THROUGH THE PERIODS

TABLE 29

	NORTH Coastal & Central	SOUTH Coastal & Central	EAST North, Central, Southern & Coastal	WEST	CENTRAL
PRE-PALATIAL PERIOD	Archanes Tekes Samba	Ag.Triadha Ag.Kyrillos Ag.Onouphrios Koumasa Kalathiana Kamilari Lebena Lenda Platanos Porti Pyrgos Siva Myrtos Vasiliki	Siteia Palaikastro		Trapeza
PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD	Juktas Knossos Mallia Maza	Ag.Triadha (villa) Kophinas Phaistos	Arvi Chamaizi Petsopha Piskokephalo Prinias Traostalos Zakros		
NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD	Juktas Knossos Mallia Mochlos Tylissos	Ag.Triadha Kophinas Phaistos	Palaikastro Zakros Zou Traostalos		Psychro Skoteino

MAP 1



- |                     |               |             |                  |              |                |                  |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Agia Triada      | 7. Juktas     | 13. Lebena  | 19. Palaikastro  | 25. Prinias  | 31. Tekes      | 37. Zou, Siteias |
| 2. Agios Kyrillos   | 8. Kamilari   | 14. Lendas  | 20. Petsonha     | 26. Psychro  | 32. Traostalos |                  |
| 3. Agios Onouphrios | 9. Kalathiana | 15. Mallia  | 21. Phaistos     | 27. Pyrgos   | 33. Traneza    |                  |
| 4. Archanes         | 10. Knossos   | 16. Maza    | 22. Piskokephalo | 28. Siteia   | 34. Tylissos   |                  |
| 5. Arvi             | 11. Kophinas  | 17. Mochlos | 23. Platanos     | 29. Siva     | 35. Vasiliki   |                  |
| 6. Chamaizi         | 12. Koumasa   | 18. Myrtos  | 24. Porti        | 30. Skoteino | 36. Zakros     |                  |



(c) The evidence for religious and/or secular activities.

Introduction

The contextual evidence provided in Part II, Chapter 6, has given us the basis for our discussion on the religious and/or secular activities associated with the figurines. It would seem reasonable, furthermore, to begin with that evidence which gives us the strongest indications of the meaning of the figurines and the motives behind their deposition in particular locations, even if that is not done in a chronological order. In Chapter 6 the contextual evidence relating to the figurines was discussed in relation to the type of location in which they were found, and in the following order: tombs, peak sanctuaries, caves and settlements. That same grouping will be applied here but beginning with those locations and contexts which provide us with most evidence.

The peak sanctuary sites suggest that figurines were deposited without exception as votive offerings, whether this was done at the time of a ritual or as an isolated event. The ash layers that have been identified in these locations combined with the evidence for temenos areas, built sanctuaries and the great quantity of pottery in the form of cups, jugs and bowls certainly point to some kind of ritual activity. At some point before, during or after, figurines and other associated objects were deposited as 'votive' offerings. Immediately, therefore, our discussion has focused on religious activities. A brief discussion on the meaning of votive offerings is both instructive and essential to any further progress in this area.

Votive Offerings

An artefact which is labelled 'votive' is done so because it is believed to have been dedicated, consecrated or erected in consequence



of, or in fulfilment of a vow, and is given of freewill to a being conceived as somehow superhuman. It thus becomes expressive of that vow and usually reflects the desire or wish of the person(s) by whom it was offered. The votive object thus becomes important for two reasons: firstly it may tell us about the nature of the concerns or problems confronted by individuals and by society as a whole during the period from which the object came; and secondly, it may give us indications of the nature of the god/goddess(es)/diety(ies) to whom it was offered; that is, what his/her role signified to the people in that society. Votive objects, however, may take different forms and be deposited in different ways and for different reasons. The character of the different assemblages from one type of site to another, as described in Chapter 6, indicate that as many similarities exist as do discrepancies. Rouse in 'Greek Votive Offerings'<sup>15</sup> correctly points out that although votive objects may be 'prompted by the same feeling, fear, hope or gratitude' there is also a clear division that exists between those that 'are given for their own value' (material) and those 'which are given for what they imply' (idea). Similarly a distinction may be drawn between 'public and private' offerings, even if prompted by the same feeling, and intended to have the same effect. All these points must be taken into consideration if we accept from the evidence that certain figurines are intended as votive objects. Let us return now to the peak sanctuary sites and the first step in our discussion.

#### (1) Peak Sanctuaries

It has already been stated that the character of the peak sanctuaries and their assemblages provide us with the most obvious evidence for the motives behind the deposition of objects, and most particularly the

figurines. Firstly one may consider the location of these sites: from the summits an enormous area may be surveyed and in many cases this would have included a palace and other settlements. At the same time the peaks may be seen themselves from a far distance.<sup>16</sup> A divinity worshipped in such a location is very likely to have affinities with the 'heavens' and the 'earth' and to be a protector(-tress) of the surrounding land.<sup>17</sup> This is emphasised by the associated finds: men and women in supplicating attitudes, animals of all kinds, especially sheep and oxen, and insects and crop pests, and not least numerous human limbs and torsos, some with disease and illness highlighted in some form. Miniature figurines of animals often outnumbered those of humans, which, combined with the fact that these summits were in 'permanent reach of shepherds' and cattle breeders,<sup>18</sup> may account for their abundance. The nature of the deity to which these finds point is surely one to whom these people turned for 'protection' - a protection that would ensure the welfare of themselves and the animals belonging to them, that would ensure fertility and cure the sick.<sup>19</sup> Whilst many peak sanctuaries contained an enclosed temenos area from the time they were set up to the end of the Pre-palatial period or the beginning of the Proto-palatial period, sanctuary buildings do not appear to have been built until the beginning of the Neo-palatial period,<sup>20</sup> when the religion may have taken on a more institutionalized nature. The iconographic evidence on a rhyton vase from Zakros<sup>21</sup> and another fragment of a rhyton from Gypsades,<sup>22</sup> for such sanctuaries confirms the direct evidence for such a date.

The use of peak sanctuaries appears to have preceded the establishment of the first palaces, though the former flowered with the latter's existence. The first palaces undoubtedly testified to an increase in

wealth and as is logical, was accompanied by an increase in population. The palaces became the focal point from which all other impulses of its growth emerged, and influenced all spheres of life, not least a more efficient exploitation of agricultural resources and an increase in stock raising.<sup>23</sup> Their need for assurance in maintaining such increases is a natural consequence, and their use of religion in this aspect is a method used to the present day,<sup>24</sup> combined with their more basic needs of health and fertility to ensure the population. Equally natural is their desire to worship the god(s) or goddess(es) embodying the fulfilment of such needs, out in the open on the peaks of mountains where a closer affiliation would have been felt to nature, in both its constructive and destructive elements. That these sanctuaries were visited by large numbers of people is testified by the presence of the figurines themselves, depicting the individuals in their various forms and fashions, reminding the deity of their needs. Who or what was worshipped, whether one god/goddess or many, is a more difficult question to answer: certainly no cult idols have been uncovered from these sanctuaries. From iconographic evidence, the seal impression of a gold signet ring from Knossos may be instructive.<sup>25</sup> The scene reveals a mountain surmounted by a female figure in a bell-shaped dress, with breasts exposed and her left hand outstretched, clasping a thin rod. She is flanked on either side by a lion, in front of her is a male standing erect with incurved back and left hand raised with elbow bent and hand resting on the forehead, and behind her is the facade of a building surmounted by horns of consecration and thus of religious intent. Although the seal impression dates to LMII and thus succeeding the LMIB destruction of the palace and possibly influenced by the religion of a different society,

it may well attest the existence of a single goddess who was worshipped on these mountain tops; and representative of the earlier Minoan religion. If we accept that this is the goddess of the mountains and nature worshipped on the peak sanctuaries, her similarity to the female form of votive figurine suggests that this impression represents the anthropomorphic realization of a goddess appearing on the mountain top in an 'epiphany'. This is strengthened by the absence of cult idols and would indicate an aniconic form of religion. Rutkowski has suggested that the male figure standing and facing the female figure at the foot of the mountain in this same sealing is the Minoan king being bestowed with special powers. Similarly Forsdyke<sup>26</sup> has suggested that the "Sacra Conversazione" ring depicts king "Minos" 'in converse' with the Goddess. The notion of one goddess in Minoan religion who presided over every aspect of life and one who bestowed power on a male ruler, is an attractive hypothesis and certainly one possible interpretation. From iconographic sources perhaps one of the most fascinating recent discoveries is the 'master impression' sealing from Khania in western Crete. This sealing depicts a male figure standing upright with the right arm outstretched and clasping a down-pointing spear or rod and the figure standing on a building complex adorned with horns of consecration. Whatever the interpretation of this scene the sealing offers us the possibilities of new evidence for Minoan kingship and/or the identification of a major male god. The actual figure is certainly not unknown in form and type to other representations of male figures, including those in three-dimensional form. The setting of this figure, however, may be interpreted as either representing the epiphany of a male god or as an important human being, and one can argue for both interpretations effect-



ively. In the context of our discussion it highlights the difficulty of ascertaining the true and fundamental nature of Minoan religion and its place in that society. The peak sanctuaries and their figurines provide evidence for the fact that such objects were deposited as votive offerings in those locations and that rituals took place. In addition, the assemblages may suggest the nature of the divinity worshipped, just as the iconographic sources may point to other possible interpretations or fortify what we may understand from existing evidence. Without any evidence for cult images, however, or written sources for the precise nature of the cult, our speculations must end here. Peak sanctuaries, although providing us with an important starting point and basis for our discussion, are not the only sites in which valuable evidence exists, in this case, for religious activities surrounding the figurines. Settlement sites must now be considered, in the light they may shed on the place of the figurines in both religious and secular spheres.

#### (11) Settlements

Peak sanctuary sites are not alone in the absence of cult idols from the period preceding the destruction of LMIB. For the figurines found in settlements, as described in Chapter 6, their location and associated finds, only in a few instances indicate any ritual activity, and within these none can be regarded as cult idols. In fact they reaffirm the idea that they had a votive and/or domestic intent only. The figurines and associated finds from Quartier Mu, Mallia, for instance, attest a similar form of worship to that on peak sanctuaries by the presence of various limbs and anatomical representations and more significantly, that of animals. Their location in a store-room adjacent to, and connected with, a lustral basin and sanctuary and their apparent clearance and

deposition into the small room reaffirm their votive function, in this purely domestic location.

#### The faience figurines from Knossos

The figurines from the Temple Repositories at Knossos have been the centre of many discussions on the nature of Minoan religion in their capacity as possible cult images,<sup>27</sup> and hence require individual discussion. Their uniqueness in terms of technical ability, their elaborateness of decoration and the presence of snakes on them has led to their identification as the 'snake-goddess' and her votaries. Their contexts and associated finds argue against such an interpretation:<sup>28</sup> they were found buried in cists with many other votive objects clearly associated with the contents of shrine and are possibly votive offerings themselves, just as at Mallia, Quartier Mu, where the contents of the shrine were deposited in a small room. The uniqueness of the faience figurines may be attributed to the fact that they were the product of the central point of Minoan society - the palace - at the height of its artistic achievements, and come from a palace shrine. In addition, they may have represented women of very high status who performed rituals within the palace shrine and even served a goddess. The addition of snakes attached to the figurines and regarded as an attribute of 'the goddess' would emphasise their role in this capacity.

Let us not minimize the problem of the interpretation of the status of these figurines however, as there exist a number of possibilities which must at least be considered.<sup>29</sup> These in turn have wider implications for the interpretation of the figurines as a whole.

- (1) That they are representations of the divinity as conceived in human form.

- (2) That they are permanent or temporary cult images imbued with divine power and worshipped in this capacity.
- (3) That they are images of persons of high status who carry special powers of the divinity, e.g. priestesses, and are worshipped in this capacity.
- (4) That they are plain votive objects dedicated to a divinity by persons of high status and represent those persons.

The arguments against points (1) and (2) above are numerous. Firstly, we have no evidence for the existence of representations of the divinity in human form, or cult images in three-dimensional form anywhere else in Crete for the period preceeding LMIB. The larger figures with 'upraised arms', the shrines in which they were found, and additional iconographic evidence post-date LMIB and thus cannot be included in this argument. It is possible that wooden cult images existed that have not survived today: the discovery of life-size clay feet at Archanes<sup>30</sup> in addition to other smaller clay feet found at Mallia<sup>31</sup> for instance, has certainly contributed to this hypothesis, though it has not confirmed it. Secondly, if they were regarded as images of the divinity or cult images, why were they deposited in the repositories together with a host of other objects which can be more clearly termed as 'votive', without any differentiation of status between the figurines themselves, or between them and the other goods? Thirdly, if one is to use scale as a criterion for the identification of a cult image, the size of any one of the faience figurines is not exceptionally large or out of character with some of the larger clay figurines, of more definite votive intent. One may cite, for example, some of the figurines from Piskokephalo peak sanctuary whose upper halves alone measure over 10cm in height: the maximum reconstituted

height of the so-called 'Snake-goddess' is 32cms. Furthermore, if the life-size clay feet are to be used in an argument for the presence of cult images, why are the faience figurines, or at least one of them, not life size and hence in keeping with the supposed wooden images?

Gesture is often used as a method for the identification of cult figures or representations of the divinity. In the case of the faience figurines, No. *KN1* with her arms outstretched in front and inclined downwards, resembles more closely someone in the act of 'offering'. No. *KN2*, with her arms outstretched sideways and bent obliquely can be used in an argument in favour of a representation of a goddess with upraised arms and hence an 'epiphany'. Equally the gesture could be argued as being a representation of 'adoration', in the figure.<sup>32</sup>

Attributes are undoubtedly an important aspect in the identification of particular figures as cult images or representations of the divinity. In the case of the faience figurines this has certainly proved an important part of the argument. Snakes have been confirmed in other sources as an attribute of the Minoan goddess and hence the fact they are seen to coil round No. *KN1* (normally identified as the Snake Goddess herself) and held in the hands of No. *KN2* (normally identified as her votary) have provided a strong case for the status of each. However, such attributes could equally well be used in the representation of persons of high status who are intended to be seen as carrying special powers of the divinity. Such persons may be priestesses or others of high status in that particular community. Whether they are then worshipped in this capacity or merely represent such persons and are dedicated as votive objects, is more difficult to determine. The evidence, as it stands today, would suggest to me that the figurines are part of a votive assemblage and one that belongs to a central palace shrine.



The exact status of the figurines weighs more in favour of them representing individuals of high status who also possibly carried special powers of the goddess, and who dedicated images of themselves to a particular goddess.

Let us return now to the evidence for the remaining figurines located in settlement contexts.

In a small store-room in the west wing of the villa at Agia Triadha, a number of clay figurines was found. We have no details of their exact location within this room, or whether they came from an upper storey, though their crudeness and their location in one of a group of storerooms do not attest to their use as cult-images or idols. They were found with medium-sized pithos and other pottery fragments, as so many other storerooms, but no other objects that suggested cult activity were evident here or in the neighbouring rooms.

At Phaistos the location of a figurine and two torsos within a well, in Room LXXIII south of palace, may be indicative of their function. The well was built to collect rain-water which ran along a pipe into it and the figurines were evidently thrown into it with other pottery. This is more likely to indicate that they were discarded as rubbish, rather than thrown as a deliberate act, as they were into the deep chasm at Juktas or into the pool of water at the base of the cave at Psychro.

Of the few possible sanctuaries that existed before the destruction of LMIB and located in settlements none have ever been found to contain figurines. At Chamaizi, for example, the three figurines were found against a wall adjacent to a room thought to have been a sanctuary; the MMII shrine at Mallia contained no figurines nor did the shrine room at Quartier Mu<sup>33</sup>

But the small adjoining room where they were found might have been part of a shrine complex. The MMII shrine of the Dove Goddess thought to have been located below the MMIII Loom Weight Basement, north of the East-West Corridor at Knossos, contained no figurines. The possible presence of domestic sanctuaries would indicate that rituals may have taken place in and around the house or palace. In all probability these were of a very small and localized nature, and intended only for those who lived in the immediate vicinity. The presence of isolated or small groups of figurines scattered about sites in a random way suggests that figurines were also kept by individuals or households in their homes: these would perhaps have had more of an 'amuletic' function. Most of the discussions that have taken place on the domestic cult have centred around the later shrines of houses, towns and palaces for which there is considerably more evidence, for instance the shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos,<sup>34</sup> the LMII shrine at Mallia, the shrine at Kannia,<sup>35</sup> and Karphi.<sup>36</sup> These shrines are different in character, and more important, yielded a new concept of figurines which may well be representative of idols, or the cult image:<sup>30</sup> but they are not under discussion here. For the period leading up to LMIB the principle cults are more likely to have been carried out away from the settlements, notably on the peaks of mountains and most particularly during the Proto-palatial period.

### (iii) Caves

The evidence from caves suggests that ritual activity was carried out in these locations. Their position high up in the sides of mountains, and the deposition of figurines in the crevices of rocks and stalagmites, provides us with a possible connection to the peak sanctuaries in their more chthonic aspects. The very nature of

caves and the darkness and fear they inspire, in addition to their size, lend themselves to use as places of worship. The popularity of caves in antiquity in their capacity as habitation areas, burials and places of worship is emphasised at Psychro where pottery begins in the sub-neolithic or Early Minoan period and continues right down into the Geometric period. Trapeza is itself a burial cave reflected in the finding of numerous bones and skulls together with the method of deposition and other associated finds: here the figurines date to the Early Minoan period although some of the pottery belongs to MMI. In the process of their evolution<sup>37</sup> caves provided people with a natural form of 'protection' and 'safeguarding' whether during times of life (habitation area), death (burial) or worship (sanctuary). The pottery vessels, ritual offering receptacles, human and animal figurines and evidence for animal sacrifice suggest a continued interest and concern for agriculture and stock breeding<sup>38</sup> in the same form as that on peak sanctuaries. But there are differences inherent: the slight predominance of male figurines and more particularly the presence of metal objects, including weapons and tools. The figurines themselves are all made of bronze or lead. Psychro presents us with a further point of interest: the two chambers are strictly divided between 'animal' and 'human' assemblages, whereas on peak sanctuaries and in settlements the two types of figurines were found in the same deposit.

It has already been demonstrated elsewhere that caves were used as tombs only in the Early Minoan period (here attested by the cave at Trapeza in particular) and as cult places from the Proto-palatial period onwards.<sup>39</sup> This situation increases dramatically during the Neo-palatial periods from which time all the figurines presented here are dated.

The popularity of caves during this later period coincides with the decrease in popularity of the use of peak sanctuaries as places of worship and ceremony. The latter continued in use certainly in MMIII and LMI (and perhaps later), as attested by the evidence for sanctuary buildings and figurines (as at Juktas, Petsopha, Kophinas and Traostalos) including those of bronze. They were clearly not as frequented as in the preceding period, however, when much larger numbers of figurines were found. This fact, combined with the marked presence of metal objects, especially weapons, and the abundance of a new, more upright male figure, has been used to argue that the Neo-palatial period saw the introduction of a war deity, or that the older god/goddess acquired a greater variety of functions. This can be disputed however: the relatively peaceful disposition of the Minoans has been considered by other scholars and is readily evident from the very structure of the palaces and their art. Furthermore many of the swords and other supposed weapons were too small or fragile to have ever been used in this capacity. It is much more probable that they are representative of hunting practices. This is strengthened by the presence of male figures, the evidence for animal sacrifices in the caves (as at Psychro), and the seasonal nature of the caves themselves. There is less doubt concerning this last point, since most of the caves, particularly Psychro, would have been inaccessible during the winter months. The degree of sophistication and wealth in the Minoan palaces by the period of the second palaces had reached its peak, as is demonstrated by the numerous crafts of the period (for instance the faience figurines from the Temple Repositories at Knossos), and the sheer size and complexity of the palaces. That this should inspire renewed interest in the natural spots for worship, and which



were already known to exist, is quite plausible amongst a growing urban society. Indeed, most of the sacred caves are to be found in Central Crete in easy reach of the palace centres.<sup>40</sup>

The diversity of votive objects found in the caves, which ranged from domestic pottery of everyday use to decorated ware and metal objects, would indicate that similar beliefs were in existence here as were seen to exist on peak sanctuaries (and suggested in terms of agriculture, stock breeding and perhaps fertility) during the Neo-palatial period. However the evidence also suggests that changes were taking place in Minoan society reflected in the renewed use of caves, the abundance of metal, and the introduction of a new type of male figure<sup>41</sup> made of bronze.

The time of the caves' maximum use would have been spring, summer and autumn which would encompass annual celebrations related to hunting and/or the seasonal rebirth of nature. The actual cult rituals involved in such celebrations are difficult to determine, except for the possible sacrifice of animals in the presence of women and particularly men. This latter point is quite acceptable if one acknowledges a ritual partly or wholly relating to hunting and hunters, but nevertheless one still concerned with the welfare of man and his place in the vegetation cycle.<sup>42</sup>

#### (iv) Tombs

The 'votive' purpose of the figurines from peak sanctuaries, caves and settlements in the period preceding the destruction of LMIB has now been strongly indicated; and pertaining to a religion centred around the protection and welfare of man, his animals and crops and thus the maintenance of the society in which he lived. That this developed and became more complex in its various aspects with the

growing urban society is quite likely. The major rituals appear to have taken place away from the urban centres, in the natural sites of peaks and caves where greater affinity to all aspects of nature and the goddess who protected them could be felt. The secular associations of the figurines could only be estimated from the few figurines that have been found in settlements, and these themselves, in at least some cases, had religious associations.

What occurred before the establishment of the palaces has not yet been touched upon, except that peak sanctuaries started to be visited in early EMIII just before the first palaces were erected. The reason for the earliest period being examined last was that the evidence for the interpretation of the figurines from that period (notably from tombs), was regarded as being the weakest. This is both as a result of the disturbed nature of the finds from tombs and the lack of evidence from Early Minoan settlements with which the tombs must once have been associated. Indeed, we now rely to some extent on our knowledge of the tomb complexes to provide us with what we can glean about the nature of that society. The figurines form an important element in that discussion. It is commonly accepted now that tomb assemblages represent the personal possessions of those that are buried therein. In this capacity figurines may have fulfilled two functions. Firstly, in order to represent the status or identity of an individual and secondly, as some kind of symbol in terms of securing protection or ensuring the welfare of the related individuals. In this way they may be regarded as votive objects, of value in themselves and as reflecting a supplicating individual (worshipper).

The votive intent of these figurines is strengthened by various factors: their scarcity, particularly with regard to the number of

burials; they show no uniformity even within the same context; they are brushed aside together with other artefacts to accommodate new burials; their size is, for the majority, small; it is quite clear that some have been repaired, indicating long standing use,<sup>43</sup> and most are of poor quality. As representations of status or identity, this may have been a natural consequence of communal burials, which these tombs clearly were. Their use in everyday life indicates that they were not made for the time of burial, but nevertheless it was the moment of death and burial that was important and when the figurines were deposited, as reflected in the fact that the burials were later brushed aside to accommodate new ones.

In their more amuletic roles their scarcity is harder to understand, but important and perhaps related to this is the fact that the majority are female or of an unknown sex. Furthermore, not all the figurines were found inside the tombs (see Table 11) but seven were found outside the entrances and eight in burial buildings near or adjacent to them, denoting some kind of activity in these areas. The assemblages in and outside of the tombs were composed of artefacts predominantly used in everyday life and others that are thought to have had religious or funerary connotations: let us examine these.

Branigan,<sup>44</sup> in his analysis of tomb assemblages and his attempt to show evidence for ritual activity (whether funerary or otherwise) taking place in and around the tholoi, considers various points: firstly, the absence of public sanctuaries during the period of greatest activity of the tholoi (though peak sanctuaries were clearly visited in EMIII); thus raising the possibility of their use as the religious centres for the related communities. Secondly, the close proximity of the tholoi to these settlements. Thirdly, the presence

of antechambers, outer rooms and paved areas on which important objects were located. Fourthly, the discovery of altars at two tomb areas,<sup>45</sup> and fifthly, the distribution of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels in and around various tholoi.<sup>46</sup> Finally one may add those objects whose religious or symbolic significance is known and confirmed by parallels elsewhere, notably the 'double-axe' and 'snakes'.<sup>47</sup>

The outer chambers and antechambers of the tholoi provide good evidence to suggest that they were used for ritual purpose, whether funerary, non-funerary or both.<sup>48</sup> Very many cups have been found in some of these rooms: for instance Agia Triadha A, Kamilari I, Lebena II, Vorou A and Apesokari II. In all cases the cups seem to have been concentrated in one room,<sup>49</sup> though the location of the room varied from tomb to tomb, and that room was deliberately kept clear of burials, whereas the others were filled with them and their accompanying burial goods. The nature of the ritual in these rooms with cups appears to have involved some sort of 'toasting',<sup>50</sup> which may also have taken place within the tombs themselves where additional cups and jugs have been located. This ritual may have been carried out for two reasons: firstly in honour of the deceased and secondly to a god or goddess to ensure the protection of the former and the welfare of the living. In a society where there was little room for distinguishing the leaders or other wealthy or important individuals from the community it is not impossible to suggest that their position was emphasised at burial by an increase in the number of grave goods and the degree of ritual carried out.<sup>51</sup> And in communities where survival was still a basic principle of life, any occasion of death would have prompted them into ensuring their own well-being.

Pavements and enclosures have been found at Kamilari, Koumasa,



Platanos and Agios Kyrillos:<sup>52</sup> at Koumasa a total of twenty-one anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels were found on the paved area between the tombs and among them a number of clay phalli (six complete ones). At Platanos many other clay phalli were located on the paved area,<sup>53</sup> indicating some sort of fertility ritual centred around these tombs. One of the anthropomorphic vessels found at Koumasa was in the form of a woman with what appears to be a snake draped round her : snake vessels and snakes have been found in household shrines of later Minoan periods, as at Gournia<sup>54</sup> and the faience figurines from the Repositories at Knossos have been seen to be bearing snakes (above). Two small snakes were found on the peak sanctuary of Juktas, though they are now regarded as being associated with a more domestic cult,<sup>55</sup> but more important as symbols of fertility. At Platanos A two sheet bronze double axes were found outside the tomb, and at Kamilarí II, half a double axe was found. It has already been noted that many double axes, mostly miniature, were found at the cave of Psychro and on Mount Juktas, which in turn have been closely associated and linked to the Late Minoan III 'Shrine of the Double Axes' at Knossos,<sup>56</sup> where they were seen in the context of a cult room.

The evidence presented indicates that ritual activity was of great importance in cemetery areas during the Pre-palatial period, and not of a funerary nature only.<sup>57</sup> Instead it has been possible to detect the beginnings of a religion more clearly developed and defined on peak sanctuaries, and to some extent in caves, in the succeeding periods. A religion centred around the welfare of the living and the needs of the small communities concerned, whose people were constantly threatened by the dangers inherent in human life and existence.

The predominance of the female figure (or lack of any males) is noteworthy: the dominance of the female in the cycle of human reproduction is obvious and the danger this imposes on her at childbirth. Thus, that she should seek protection and that this should take the form of votive offerings, including figurines, is quite natural.<sup>58</sup>

Whether two gods or goddesses were worshipped in and around the tombs, one concerned with death and funerary rites and one with life and the cycle of vegetation and human existence has been much discussed.<sup>59</sup> To this end, the three models from Kamilari dating to the Proto-palatial period and the Agia Triadha Sarcophagus dating to LMIIIA have been the centre of attention.<sup>60</sup> The first, No.12 of Type CC3 depicts a low table on a circular base at one end of which is a human figure bending over a table. Another figure stands in the doorway structure and the legs of a third are at the other end of the table. There are two noteworthy factors: around the perimeter are two horns of consecration, and the figure bending over the table is clearly a hermaphrodite whilst the figure in the doorway has no sexual characteristics depicted. Levi's interpretation of this as a domestic scene with religious undertones is probably correct, though there is not adequate justification for his suggestion that in the context of the tomb it may represent a 'funerary preparation':<sup>61</sup> we have already noted that rituals other than funerary took place in these locations.

The second model, No.11 of Type BB3, sets four figures apparently dancing on a circular base, while around its perimeter are set four horns of consecration. As in the last model the figures are clearly hermaphrodite and are nude. Three suggestions may be put

forward for the model's interpretation: firstly it may represent the nature of the activities that took place on the paved areas/enclosures outside the tombs, and indeed on the peak sanctuaries that are contemporary with these models - that is ritual dancing. Secondly, its location within a tomb may indicate that it was the personal possession of an individual, one perhaps who partook in such rituals; and thirdly the fact that the figures are all hermaphrodite may indicate that the rituals were for men and women alike and emphasise the reproductive role that both are equally involved in.

The third model has been the centre of far more controversy - No. 13 of Type RR3. It depicts a rectangular structure with one wall against which there are four large seated figures, revealing no sexual characteristics but apparently wearing long dresses/gowns. In front of them and facing them are two standing male figures clearly smaller in size and with jugs in their hands as if making an offering. It has been suggested<sup>62</sup> that this model represents a shrine and that the two standing figures are pouring libations either to a chthonic deity or to the deified dead. There is much evidence to the contrary: if the figures represent deities one would have to conceive of a religion which incorporated four; the model has no divine attributes at all (unless one chooses to use the difference in size between seated and standing figures and the fact the former have no sexual characteristics);<sup>63</sup> there is little evidence to suggest a cult of the dead, emphasised by the disturbance and/or complete removal of figurines in addition to frequent looting and destruction of personal possessions.<sup>64</sup> The model is more likely to indicate a ceremony carried out in life which, at the time of some person(s) death assumed the role of an offering and/or personal possession which was then

placed in the tomb. The deceased person(s) may have been a participant of the ceremony depicted in the model.

The Agia Triadha Sarcophagus is the most frequently used pictographic evidence to prove the existence of elaborate funerary rituals and a possible death divinity associated with those rituals.<sup>65</sup> The sarcophagus dates to the Late Minoan IIIA period, however, that is during the period of Mycenaean occupation and the tombs under discussion belong to the Pre-palatial period in which society was based on small agricultural communities and whose people knew nothing of palace organisational systems. That an elaborate funerary ceremony existed in LMIIIA, as depicted on the sarcophagus, is quite likely. By this time Crete had witnessed two palace periods in which a large social and economic structure must have existed and with numerous distinctions in status and wealth. Within such a system religious concepts must have altered and possibly acquired a structure of their own: one that was far removed from those beliefs practised around the Early Minoan tholoi. The concept of a funerary ceremony with an associated death divinity<sup>66</sup> separate from the normal sphere of religious practices is certainly a possibility therefore. This cannot be superimposed upon the society centred around the Mesara tombs, where it is far more probable that we have testimony of the foundations of the religion carried through and developed into the succeeding periods and represented by a goddess whose concern lay with the cycle of human life and existence, thus incorporating into her sphere the growth and decay of vegetation; the well-being of livestock; protection of the sick and the healthy and concern for fertility.

The figurines from tombs are part of this religion in their capacity as votive offerings, the latter of which I have endeavoured to demon-



strate. In addition they are indicative of a persons' social status, selected, perhaps, in accordance with criteria that remain unknown today, and hence constitute only a very small part of the total assemblage. It is unfortunate that we have no details of the exact location and context of the recently discovered figurine from Sambas. This figurine , although similar in form to other figurines of this period (Schematic Type C), measures an incredible 67.5cm. total in height: the largest figurine ever to have been found in Crete from this period. There is no evidence to suggest, either in the iconography or in three-dimensional forms, that a divinity in this shape was ever worshipped. Certainly, its similarity to other figurines of more definite votive intent argues against such an interpretation. Its size, however, is quite outstanding and is without explanation. One possibility is that it belonged to, or was buried with, an individual of great wealth and status, - offered to a goddess for its own value and for what it implies, in the broader religious sense already indicated.

I have endeavoured to demonstrate in this section that figurines from the period EMI-LMIB represented 'votive' offerings. I did this by first examining those contexts for which the evidence for the interpretation of figurines was most obvious, namely the peak sanctuary sites. From here the argument was carried through to settlements, caves and finally tombs, each in turn producing their individual problems and queries. The latter emphasised the fact that votive offerings may be made in a variety of ways and for differing reasons from one period to the next, even if they are prompted by the same feelings and fears etc., and dedicated to the same goddess throughout.

The evidence also indicated that figurines were offered for their own value (as personal possessions) and more importantly for what they implied (as representations of worshippers in their various needs and to fulfil various wishes).

We have seen in previous chapters that there is great range in the quality of the figurines within and between sites and that some peak sanctuaries, in particular, revealed mass production of certain types (though this was rare). From this I would suggest that offerings were made both in public ceremonies (mass production) and in private, by individuals visiting particular sites on isolated occasions. The larger peak sanctuaries evidently provided the locations for the larger public ceremonies and hence attest to a hierarchy of sanctuaries in existence.

With regard to the question of whether we are dealing, at any point, with a cult image our only real problem arose over the question of the status of the faience figurines from Knossos and possibly the large schematic figurine from Sambas. For the latter we have no further contextual information that might illuminate any case in favour of it representing a divinity: its size is the only ambiguous factor. For the former, I attempted to demonstrate that these figurines were votive offerings too, but associated with the contents of a central palace shrine and representative of persons of high status, perhaps even imbued with divine powers, as a priestess may be. Similarly figurines from other sites must have represented the individuals by whom they were dedicated. But even if their function was votive, the figurines were also personal possessions, further testified by their random location in settlement sites (other than the temple repositories) and in some cases they were even discarded

in rubbish pits and wells. If one regards such figurines as more 'secular' in their association with living areas, then these are the few figurines which remain apart from a group of objects that have obvious religious connotations.

## 2(a) Schematism and Naturalism

In the setting down of the typological procedure in Part I, Chapter 3, it was established that the figurines included in the period EMI-LMIB constituted two independent categories: (a) schematic and (b) naturalistic. The reason for their separation was that they were regarded as reflecting such different methods of representation that it was impossible in the course of the research to regard them as varieties from within the same type groups. In both categories 'degrees' of schematism and naturalism were achieved though few of the latter conformed to nature exactly, as the term was defined. Some, at least, were far more naturalistic than others<sup>67</sup> culminating in the bronze figurines of the Neo-palatial period. Schematic types, likewise, revealed greater or lesser extremes of schematism, some barely conforming to the minimum requirements laid down in their identification as anthropomorphic forms (Types B and C from Pyrgos) and others almost merging into the naturalistic field (Type JI-VII). The various degrees of schematism and naturalism in the spectrum of both groups are not being discussed here however: instead, the possibility that two separate artistic traditions existed at the same time, and ran parallel with one another, and the implication this had on their interpretation is being reviewed.

During the Pre-palatial period schematic figurines were seen to constitute 77% of the total number found.<sup>68</sup> They were located predominantly in tombs (particularly in the Mesara) and other burial places (including the cave of Trapeza and cemetery of Fourni, Archanes) with only one settlement site, Myrtos, yielding any examples.<sup>69</sup> Within this group there appeared to be a clear division in popularity



between Type A, B and C and Types *JI-JVII*.<sup>70</sup> Types A, B and C together produced 38% of schematic types and were found predominantly in the tombs of the Mesara, and Types *JI-JVIII* produced an equal 38% of schematic types but were located in the north and south of the island. Between these groups were a variety of other types (D-H)-some exemplified by only one figurine (e.g. Type E from Myrtos). Type *FI*, however, was represented by six examples, five of which were found in the same location, the cave of Trapeza, with another from Agia Triadha and one variety (*FII*) from Myrtos. Type *GI* had three, two from Agios Onouphrios and one from Lebena, with a further example from its variety *GII* and two from *GIII*.

By comparison, the naturalistic group of this period comprise a far smaller number of figurines<sup>71</sup>-from a total of one hundred and two Pre-palatial figurines, only twenty-four are what can be termed as 'naturalistic' and of these five, may be from the succeeding Proto-palatial period.<sup>72</sup> This suggests that the schematic types represented the accepted forms of figurines during this period in their capacity as votive objects: the fewer naturalistic types are more likely to represent the beginning of another tradition which began right at the end of this period and flourished in the next.<sup>73</sup>

Schematic figurines of the Proto-palatial period show a dramatic decline in numbers even though the total production of figurines shows a great increase. Only nine were identified from a total of one hundred and thirty-three figurines studied and many more, including some of known types, known to exist.<sup>74</sup> Their very presence during this period, however, is important in itself, combined with the fact that they have parallels in the preceding period. Type A2, for instance, represented by two examples from Petsopha, may be

paralleled with the Schematic Type B group of the Pre-palatial period (Plate 5 ). There are minor differences in form and in the material used: the example from Petsopha is made of clay and more crudely moulded than its parallels carved from stone. Type B2, represented by one example from Petsopha, may be paralleled with an example of the Schematic Type I group, with one example from Mallia. The main difference here is that the example from Petsopha has two small, circular pellets of clay applied to its torso whereas that from Mallia of the preceding period does not: instead it reveals painted lines across the body. The remaining six schematic types, represented by a single example each, are all from the same deposit at Quartier Mu, Mallia, and are of more certain Proto-palatial date. Of these example three have parallels with the preceding period: Type C2 ( Fig. 31 ), a very worn head, clearly belongs to Type JI more commonly associated with the Folded Arm Figurine Variety.<sup>75</sup> More particularly it resembles an example from Myrtos that is made of clay but clearly belongs to this group, Type E2I shows great similarity to Type D ( Fig. 2 ) represented by two examples from Trapeza: the head of the former, however, inclines further back leaving a pronounced chin. Finally Type F2 is well paralleled by Type GII ( Fig. 4 ) of the preceding period although the former has a lower, thicker neck and more of a lozenge-shaped body.

The evidence from this period suggests that although the overall number of schematic figurines had greatly diminished, and certain types had disappeared altogether, there was an attempt to hold on to the forms of the older tradition that they represented. This is emphasised by the fact that of the seven major types identified, five

had parallels<sup>76</sup> in the preceding period, even if the former represented cruder imitations of the latter. Their location in the Proto-palatial period is noteworthy and perhaps instructive in their interpretation: three were from the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha<sup>77</sup> (Types A2 and B2), and the remaining six (C2-G2) from a small room in Quartier Mu, Mallia, now recognised as connecting to a larger complex associated with religious activities. The parallels from the preceding period, however, were located both in and around tombs and burials (Types B, GII and JI), and in settlements (Types D and I). Type D from Myrtos and its parallel Type E2I from Mallia appear to be associated with settlements only, whereas Type I from Mallia is found in the Proto-palatial period on the peak sanctuary site of Petsopha as is Type B, normally associated with burial places but now also found on Petsopha (Type A2). The inter-relationship in the location of these types between tombs and settlements in one period, and peak sanctuary and settlement in the next, is indicative of both their religious and/or amuletic functions in both periods. They also show the survival of the earlier form of worship that they represented into the succeeding period of a more urban society governed by the palace and a more institutionalized form of religion. The worship and ritual of the Pre-palatial period (for which we have already examined the evidence)<sup>78</sup> was centred around the tombs<sup>79</sup> and served the needs of the smaller agricultural communities: it nevertheless pertained to a religion that was developed and more clearly defined in the next, Proto-palatial period by proven rituals, possible priestesses, sanctuaries and cult implements and involving a more sophisticated people concerned with individuality, fashion and status and expressed in the figurines by a new wave of



naturalism that superseded the schematic forms.<sup>80</sup> The very presence of the latter with the newer forms atteststo such a development, but, more important, also shows that they represented a similar form of religion, even if the schematic types pertain to an earlier and more primitive rendition of the developing religious concepts.

During the Neo-palatial period eleven figurines have been attributed to the schematic group (two of which are heads), and are all from domestic contexts.<sup>81</sup> Four were located at Quartier E at Mallia and one from Quartier Δ, three from Zakros and three from Knossos (including one from the House of the Sacrificed Oxen and two from the Royal Road Excavations). Nine types (Figs.96-99) have been identified, most represented by one example with the exception of Types A3 and H3 which had two examples each, and of these four could be paralleled with types of the preceding period: Type B3 with Type E2I, both from Mallia but different contexts and in turn paralleled with Type D; Type C3 from Zakros with Type GII from Mallia; Type D3 from Mallia with Type A2 from Petsopha which was in turn paralleled with Type B of the Pre-palatial period and Type E3 with Type C of the Pre-palatial period. Thus Types B3 and D3 reveal parallels with both the preceding periods and Type E3 with the earliest of these. The figurines' location in the Neo-palatial period within entirely domestic contexts and their random distribution within these and in areas of no particular religious significance,<sup>82</sup> suggests that their role had become more amuletic. In this capacity they may still have served a 'protective' role, but more as charms in the home, than any votive function for the use in sanctuaries. At Mallia, Quartier Mu, in the preceding period the schematic figurines were found adjacent to a sanctuary, but in this



succeeding period their locations in Quartier Δ and E do not suggest any similar religious associations, nor their locations at Zakros and Knossos. Peak sanctuary sites during the Neo-palatial period ceased to hold the popularity as places of worship seen in the previous period:<sup>83</sup> meanwhile there was an increased use of caves<sup>84</sup> as sanctuaries, but they have not revealed any schematic figurines; the cult needs of this period evidently did not require their presence. By way of contrast the male and female bronze figurines commonly found and associated with caves<sup>85</sup> revealed a high level of naturalism in their moulding, unattained in the previous period in clay. For this reason the presence of such crude and schematic figurines in the settlements is of great importance in their representation of the earliest form of the religion and society that later created these self same bronzes.

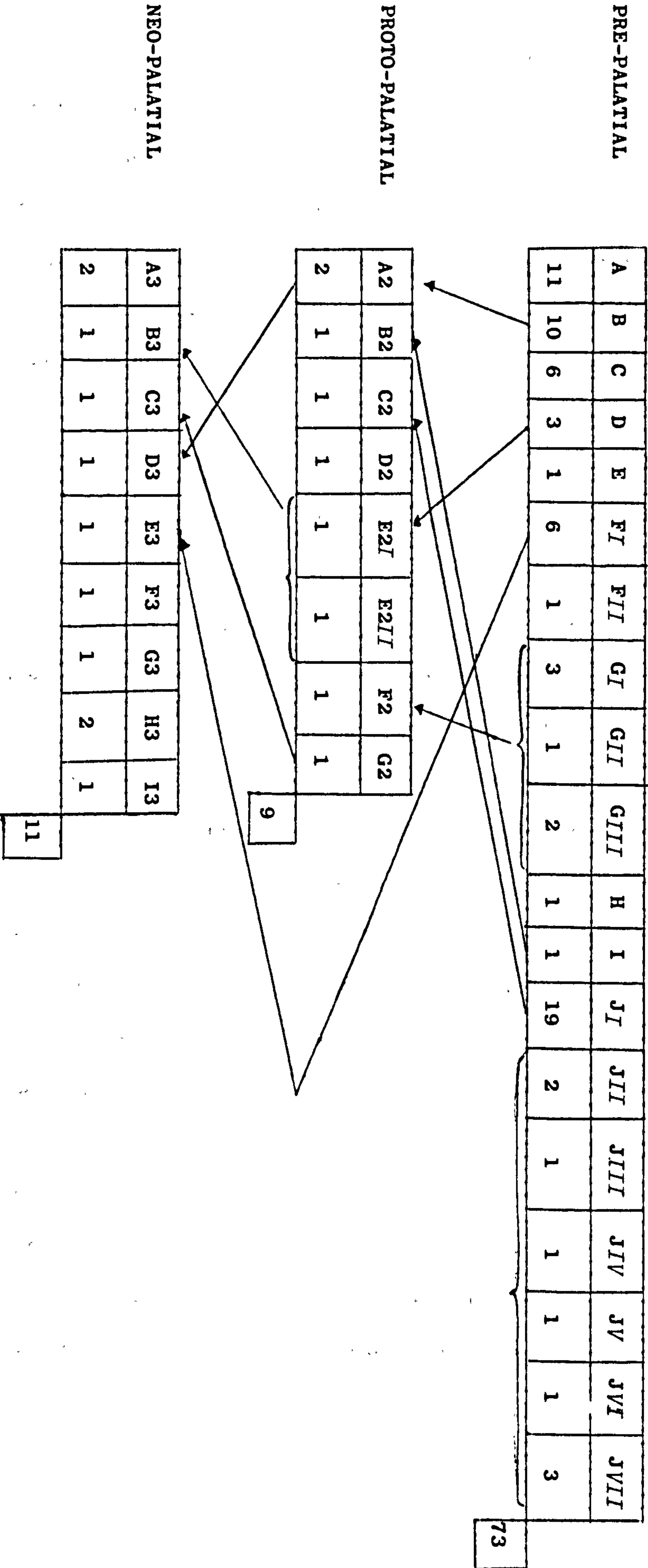
The naturalistic figurines did not emerge from the schematic types in any logical progression with the passage of time, but were created separately by and for a people who were witnessing major transformations in their society. By this, I refer to the changes that led from the small agricultural communities of the Early Minoan period into the palaces and urban centres at the end of that period and into the next. Just as it is impossible to say exactly 'why' those changes in that society occurred, so it is difficult to say precisely 'why' naturalistic figurines emerged and suddenly flourished from a tradition that had been so different in its mode of expression - namely schematism in stone. What we do know is that the new figurines that were expressed in terms of 'naturalism in clay' first appeared in small numbers accompanying schematic types in the traditional centres of worship around the tholoi, and later flourished on the peak sanctuary sites, eventually superseding the schematic forms.

The schematic types of the Pre-palatial period reflected a combination of religious needs that included the well-being of the living and the dead and the earth that fed and buried them. This represented the expression of only some individuals from the more primitive communities trying to ensure the basic needs of their existence. With the establishment of the palaces these basic elements were transformed into a much more formal concept of religion, a coherent part of the palace structure, with much larger ceremonies and rituals in which men and women alike partook and were represented by the figurines. The older concepts of this religion were evidently remembered by some, however, and it is not impossible that the communities and their ancestors who produced the early schematic forms found in tombs, now visited the peak sanctuaries at the beginning of their use, depositing figurines of older forms but ones which nevertheless served the same purpose : that is, as votive objects to the same goddess, in order to ensure their welfare. This would certainly explain their scarcity, though not their presence in the settlements, particularly Mallia where in Quartier Mu they were found in the same deposit and next to a sanctuary and their sole location in settlements in the Neo-palatial period. For this one must understand that the superior and developing naturalistic forms more than adequately served their votive purpose : schematic figurines were no longer required in this capacity and did not fulfil the needs of the populace in terms of fashion and status, the growing sense of individuality that the naturalistic types so carefully reflected and not least the role of the different sexes. The schematic figurines, instead, became separated from their naturalistic counterparts in their more amuletic function and thus found greater use within the settlements where day

to day needs and fears could be well protected; thus they may have been kept as charms by some individuals and actually used in a sanctuary by others, as in Quartier Mu. Their safe-keeping in the home may be attributed to one final possibility: this is that they represented heirlooms passed down from one generation to the next from the time before the palaces were built, and thus belonged to only a few individuals. But whatever their actual meaning it is more certain that the schematic types did represent a different tradition from the naturalistic forms, both the products of different types of societies, but which nevertheless conformed to the basic elements of a particular and similar religion.

TABLE 30

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SCHEMATIC FIGURINES BETWEEN THE MINOAN PERIODS





## 2(b) The Sexes

During the course of this research the division of the sexes formed a primary part in the typological procedure,<sup>86</sup> once the chronological groupings were established and the material separated into Schematic and Naturalistic Type groups. This gender division was implemented both as an organisational tool and because the sex of the figurines was seen to be of primary importance for interpretation. Various observations have been made between and within each period, and are discussed here.

### The Pre-palatial Period

During the Pre-palatial period figurines of both the schematic and naturalistic groups were either of an unknown sex or female. Within the schematic group their indistinguishable sexual characteristics were a function of their highly schematised forms, as in Types A, B, C, D, E and F (Plates 1 - 23 ). Where sexual characteristics were depicted they were normally in the form of small applied or carved breasts (No. A01 of Type GI from Agios Onouphrios). Types JI-JVII revealed in addition to this an incised pubic triangle, and in one case a swollen abdomen denoting pregnancy (Plate 24). Within Type JI one male was identified:<sup>88</sup> in form he did not differ from his female counterparts except for the presence of a carved penis.

Within the naturalistic group of this period those figurines that were not female were seen to be of an unknown sex because of the omission of sexual characteristics. This is in contrast to the schematic types where the schematised forms did not require their definition. The omission in the naturalistic types may have resulted from one of two factors: a preconceived and therefore deliberate

method of portrayal or as a result of crude modelling. If deliberate, one is faced with the difficult question of 'why' this method was adopted. One possibility is that during the Pre-palatial period the anthropomorphic presence symbolized in figurines was more important than the definition of their sex, thus combining the needs and fears of men and women alike, as represented in these votive objects. This would suggest more of an 'amuletic' function which, combined with their location in places of burial and habitation, would seem quite plausible.

It does not account for the remaining figurines being of a distinct female character however (unless we accept the crude genderless figurines as intended to be female). For this has already been suggested<sup>89</sup> that one must accept that in her dominant role in the reproductive cycle and the danger this imposes on her at childbirth the female would have sought more frequent protection.

That this should take the form of a figurine representing herself and offered to a goddess who in turn represented the needs and cares of human life is a natural consequence. In turn, it is also possible that those figurines of the naturalistic group which reveal no sexual characteristics are representations of children.<sup>90</sup>

Of the schematic types this is harder to accept, since many anthropomorphic forms will be schematized to degrees where sexual organs have no part. Given the separate artistic traditions that they represent it would seem more probable that definition of sex was not of prime importance within the schematic group. Where female sexual characteristics were depicted is testimony to the technical possibility of their portrayal. The female forms represented in Types *JI-VII* are well attested in the Cyclades preceding and

contemporary with the period of their appearance in Crete.<sup>91</sup> Their adoption into the repertoire of Early Minoan figurines<sup>92</sup> is clear indication that they represented a similar reaction to similar needs and fears. Together with this their distinct female character was a reflection of the special position women held in the growth and maintenance of that society: a concept undoubtedly held before their introduction.

### The Proto-palatial Period

During the Proto-palatial period only nine schematic figurines came to light, of which only one depicted any sexual characteristics and in the form of small applied pellet breasts (Type B2 from Petsopha). The highly schematised forms of the remainder did not retain any such characteristics.

Within the naturalistic group, the division of the sexes becomes quite distinct, evidently assuming a newly acquired importance. Each group, despite a small degree of overlap, had its own forms and attribute combinations.<sup>93</sup> Apart from the introduction of a new male type a much smaller group of figurines appeared to depict both sexual organs and were therefore regarded as 'hermaphrodites'. This still left a fourth class, already encountered in the preceding period, who revealed no evidence of sexual characteristics. In some cases this was due to lack of preservation (Types II3-PP3), whereas in other examples there appears to have been a deliberate omission. This development in the representation of the different sexes from the preceding period undoubtedly has implications for interpretation: why for instance are male figurines shown in as great abundance as females and what significance do the hermaphrodites and sexless figurines hold? What proportion of male, to females



existed, or indeed hermaphrodites and sexless figurines, is impossible to say with so much material unpublished and unseen. What is possible to establish, however, is that such sex groups did exist within the naturalistic group as a whole, and that males and females constituted the largest groups. In total fifty-two males and forty females were studied constituting nine and thirteen types respectively. Only nine hermaphrodites were identified, of which there were five types, and twenty-nine sexless figurines of thirteen major types.

#### Males and Females

The female figurines displayed a greater range of types in a smaller given number, than the males,<sup>94</sup> and within each type greater variation of attributes. Attribute (3) - 'dress', manifesting itself in the variety of bell-shaped skirts, in the head-dresses and decorative attachments contributed to the great variation in females, and provided greater scope in demonstrating the new artistic achievements in small sculpture. The introduction of the male type also provided new possibilities in the moulding of different forms and fashions, but its scope was more limited. The inspiration that lay behind the development of this artistic tradition (and which identified the figurines as being Minoan) together with the new wave of naturalism that was clearly superseding the schematism of earlier periods is hard to explain, and beyond the limits of discussion here. Figurines testify to its existence and occurrence in their representation of 'live',<sup>95</sup> human beings conscious of the division of the sexes, status and fashion, even if in their more votive role they still served the same function as in the preceding period. Thus whilst the basic elements of the religion remained unaltered the people who believed in it and partook of the ceremonies



were clearly of a more developed and sophisticated society.

### Hermaphrodites

The 'hermaphrodite' figurines present us with greater problems in terms of interpretation. Of the nine hermaphrodites, five belong to models: Type BB3, for example, from Kamilari, represents four figures standing with linked arms on a circular platform surmounted by horns of consecration. They are naked and reveal both breasts and penis. No. 26 of Type CC3 from Kamilari is also part of a model set on a circular platform. Here a crudely modelled hermaphrodite with large, modelled breasts and penis bends naked over a table apparently doing something. The two examples from Chamaizi, No. 159 and 160 of Type AA3, indicate breasts only, but their forms clearly imitate males and for this reason they have been identified as 'hermaphrodite'. The remaining two examples of types DD3 and EE3 from Traostalos and Piskokephalo respectively reveal both codpieces and breasts. This evidence, particularly concerning the models, suggests that persons representing hermaphrodites commonly partook of rituals or activities either of a religious or secular nature or both, and that whatever their meaning<sup>96</sup> their representation in three-dimensional form reflects that their recording was of value and thus something worth burying with those to whom they belonged.

The two examples from Chamaizi were not found within the room thought to have been allocated as a sanctuary in this house, but against an outside wall adjacent to it. Their gestures (Type 12) and postures (Type 2) strongly suggest a sense of movement and more specifically 'dancers'. If we accept this interpretation we may then assume that they too represent participants of a noteworthy activity whether religious or secular.

The remaining two, and rather isolated examples from Traostalos and Piskokephalo are more ambiguous in their meaning and indeed more static in their depiction. But if we are to acknowledge the representation of figurines as individuals, we must also accept that these examples represent hermaphrodites, just as we might accept others as distinctly male or female. Undoubtedly No. 156 from Traostalos is more unusual in form than the males or females contemporary with it, representing a large and thickly moulded individual with a straight-sided torso wrapped in a wide sash or belt around its middle. No. 108 of Type EE3 is more reminiscent of female Type UU2 with its long and well moulded, rectangular torso slightly incurving at the waist-except for the inclusion of breasts and a codpiece. One might speculate that whatever their role in society, they were not a usual occurrence.

#### Unknown Sex

In the figurines of unknown sex, those that are most noteworthy and more numerous are represented by Types FF3, GG3I and II, HH3, QQ3I-II and RR3 (Figs. 81, 96a : Pls. 140, 141, 151-155). Here it appears that no attempt was made to indicate their sex. Nos. J4 and J5 of Type FF3 from Juktas are characterized by their rather 'suspended' attitude with legs apart and arms 'hanging' at the sides: these seem crude and unfinished with totally featureless bodies. Type GG3I and II from Prinias and Kophinas respectively have equally featureless torsos. No. 155 from Prinias with its flat arms bent round to the chest has an incision down the centre of the torso possibly indicating an injury or illness. No. 76 of Type HH3 from Maza is reminiscent of the male type AA2III with its more sinuous outline and rounded, protruding buttocks, except that its torso is

featureless and it is miniature in size (5.4cm.ht.).

For all these examples there appear two possible interpretations. Firstly, they are the product of a more rural workshop where modelling techniques were cruder but the end product nevertheless served the same function. It should be remembered that not all the visitors to peak sanctuaries (from which these were found) would have inhabited the palace centres but may have lived some distance from them where artistic influence may not have penetrated as effectively. Secondly, their crude and featureless bodies may be indicative of their representation of children<sup>97</sup> who would have been subjected to the same destructive forces of nature that required their elders to seek protection from a goddess. A society whose adult population alone partook of the religious ceremonies and were thus represented in the figurines would seem unusual, especially when one speculates that child mortality and sickness would have been high.

Types QQ3I and II represent the most numerous examples of the sexless group of figurines with six examples from Knossos and three from Juktas. They are characterized by their short, thick and featureless, cylindrical bodies with incurving backs that run down from the back of the head in a continuous line. Their arms are pulled out in front and below the neck into short, stumpy projections and the nose and chin pinched out leaving two large eye projections. They appear to wear a widebrimmed hat flattened at its top and inclining backwards and a long dress or gown flaring at the base. The proximity of Juktas to the palace of Knossos, the uniqueness and the number (9) of this type strongly suggest that they were the product of a particular workshop in this area: who or what they represented is more difficult to determine. An argument in favour of their representation as children is far less certain. Perhaps



the definition of their sex was not an essential criterion in their making.

The figurines represented in Type RR3, four constituting a model from Kamilari and one example from Petsopha, are all seated, wear long gowns and reveal no evidence of sexual characteristics. On the model, the four seated figures with their right hands held forwards are faced by two smaller male figures wearing codpieces: the fact that the latter clearly represent males emphasises the neutrality of the seated figures. Conversely, the fact that they wear gowns may have precluded the depiction of breasts. No. 95 from Petsopha of this same type reveals a white painted torso suggestive of a female despite the absence of any determining sexual characteristics. That these figures represent females is a possibility, but that they all hold the same meaning is questionable. Although the model depicts no divine attributes and thus of dubious ritual significance it was nevertheless located in a tomb.<sup>98</sup> Seated figurines from peak sanctuaries are not unknown however, depicting both males and females alike, some indicating a disability or illness.<sup>99</sup> Thus No. 95 from Petsopha may hold a different meaning from that of the figurines in the model. The former may reflect a young female who has not attained full sexual maturity, and the reason for her seated posture may be a point of preference. Whatever the significance of this group of figurines however, the fact remains that in such cases there was no obvious attempt at sex definition.

#### The Neo-palatial Period

During the Neo-palatial period a small group constituting five types, represented by one example each, display no sexual characteristics. There are no examples of hermaphrodites to date, however, and male and female types constitute the two main sex groups.



### Males and Females

The female figurines of this period display a far greater variety of types than the males and are made from different materials, namely clay, bronze and faience (Table 28). Of the nine terracotta types most are represented by only one example and have all been located in domestic contexts, thus emphasising their more isolated and perhaps unique nature. They demonstrate a return to cruder,<sup>100</sup> but more stylized forms which stands in contrast to the bronze and faience figurines: here a sophisticated level of artistic achievement in three-dimensional art is demonstrated, particularly in terms of naturalism. Male figurines are as well represented in this period but show far less variation in detail than their female counterparts. They are almost exclusively made of bronze and are best characterized by their upright stance and saluting gesture (Type 6). Like the females they reveal a great degree of naturalism and have been found in a variety of contexts including peak sanctuaries (Kophinas, Juktas, Traostalos), settlements (Agia Triadha, Palaikastro) and caves (Psychro and Skoteino). The greater variety in types and materials seen in the female figurines, and not least the faience group from Knossos, and the much more standardized and smaller variety of male types, strongly suggests that the roles of the two groups were becoming more distinct, each fulfilling a different function in the running of their society and the religious rituals performed to maintain it.

### Unknown Sex

The figurines of an 'unknown sex' from the Neo-palatial period (Plates 192 and 193 ) emphasise a deliberate neutrality in that they have survived largely intact. Two from Juktas

are made of bronze, and the three clay examples are from Agia Triadha, Mallia and Zakros. The latter, No. 234 of Type AA5, represents a crudely modelled miniature figurine with a narrow and featureless body which is rather twisted. Its location within a settlement and its crude and small form suggest that it was locally made and for the use of one individual, maybe as an amulet in the house. No. 208 of Type BB5 from Mallia, Quartier E, resembles figurines of Type GGI and II from the Pre-palatial period but is more irregularly modelled, with its short, cylindrical body extending down from the shoulders and flaring at the base. No. 183 of Type CC5 from Agia Triadha is more unusual with its upper torso and head, including long bandy arms, seen to emerge from the top of a cylindrical container which conceals the rest of the body. The traces of red paint on top of the head and behind the shoulders indicate that it may have been male, but this is impossible to ascertain. Of the two bronze figurines from Juktas, one (Type DD5) has a long, thin and cylindrical body with slight incurving at the waist. The carefully moulded head depicting eyes and nose emphasises the absence of the details of sexual characteristics on the torso. The example of Type EE5 maintains the characteristic gesture and posture of the period and wears a short tunic drawn in at the waist but with no sexual organs indicated. The wearing of a short kilt was often depicted on Proto-palatial male figurines but at all times a cod-piece or penis were indicated below it. There is no such evidence here, and consequently what the figurines represent remains unknown.

#### Summary

The distinct division of the 'male' and 'female' sex groups appeared to coincide with the emergence of the first Palaces,

from which time their roles in that society apparently assumed their own character.

During the preceding period the inhabitants of the small rural communities did not regard the definition of gender in anthropomorphic figurines as an essential attribute, but when it was implemented the female sex predominated. Two male clay figurines located at the tombs of Porti and Agios Kyrillos dated to MMI provide us with the link into the succeeding period where sexual definition took on an unprecedented importance. Males did not suddenly appear in Minoan society, however, but their function in the developing palace structures was evidently of great value and hence their depiction as a distinct class of figurines. At the same time we also see the introduction of a new class of figurines: the 'hermaphrodites' and a continuation of a 'sexless' group of which the origins were seen in the preceding period. The interpretation of both groups is hard to determine: the former attest to the existence of such a group which is important in itself, and that most appear to display a more 'active' role (like dancing), even if an occasional one. The latter may indicate a stylistic preference or the product of a rural workshop (or both) or perhaps eunuchs, or children and those who have not attained full sexual maturity.

The Neo-palatial period witnessed a continuation of the sexless figurines (although of new forms), but the disappearance of hermaphrodites. Females continued to display a great deal of variety but the clay examples appeared isolated and of a domestic use. The wealth of achievement is seen instead in the female and male bronze figurines where naturalism is attained with great skill in the definition of each sex group and individual worshipper. Although



the exact proportion of males to females, hermaphrodites and sexless figurines cannot be ascertained, particularly for the Proto-palatial period, until all the material is published, it has at least been possible, in this survey, to confirm the existence and development of such groups within and between each period. For a more detailed understanding of their roles, however, a study of their postures and gestures is perhaps most instructive.



## 2(c) Posture and Gesture

Posture and gesture constitute the first attribute of three in the hierarchy laid down in the typological procedure. There are two reasons for this: firstly, their obvious and immediate visibility and secondly, their being the most informative indication of what 'action' the figurine is attempting to represent. Hence they are a key attribute in terms of interpretation. This method of representation is more apparent amongst the naturalistic group than the schematic, the former taking on a new dimension in terms of numbers and variety at the beginning of the Proto-palatial period. For the schematic types, arms and legs are not always indicated and if they are (usually by incision only) the figurines are characterized by their 'immobility' or being 'at rest' with their arms folded neatly over their waists, left above right. The majority of the discussion, therefore, is concerned with the naturalistic figurines, where gesture in particular is most apparent, not least for its variety.

### 1. Posture

#### a. Standing/lying figurines

Five basic types of 'Posture' have been identified in the examination of the material (see over). The schematic figurines are all included under Type 5 representing those figurines that are 'immobile' or 'at rest'. Of these the majority fall under subsection (b) where the legs are not discernable. Types *JII-IV* belong to (a) where the legs are incised. It is difficult to say whether they are represented as lying or standing: the 'tiptoe' position noted in Types *JII-IV* and the indiscernibility of types A, B, and C would point strongly in favour of a 'lying down' posture. For the remainder, however, their high degree of schematism (Types D, E, F, and G, for instance) indicate

POSTURES

Type 1	Upright with legs together
Type 2	Upright with legs apart
(a)	Right leg slightly forward
(b)	Left leg slightly forward
Type 3	Upright with legs covered
Type 4	Seated
(a)	Legs apart
(b)	Legs together
Type 5	'Immobile' or 'at rest'
(a)	Legs incised
(b)	Legs not discernible

that perhaps it was their symbolic presence that was important and not whether they were represented as lying or standing: it is thus not an aspect of great value.

The majority of naturalistic figurines stand erect, with their legs together, apart, or one foot slightly forward.<sup>101</sup> The importance of this upright posture seems apparent in some of the later male types, notably of bronze, where it is emphasised by an incurved back and taut limbs (e.g. Nos. 171 and 172 of Types CC4I from Psychro and Nos. 2574 and 2575 from Skoteino P. 375-378).

From the Proto-palatial period a number of males have been seen to stand on small, rounded bases as in No. 93 of Type DD2I from Petsopha (Pls. 66 & 196), thus ensuring that the figurine could stand independently when deposited as a votive offering, thus emphasising the intention of the posture. Of the cruder male types made of clay from the Proto-palatial period, some have their legs set apart with no feet indicated and appear 'suspended'. This is often emphasised by the fact that the arms are outstretched sideways, as in No. 43 of Type AA2II from Kophinas (p. 229 Pl. 36) and an example from Prinias Pl 75 observed in the Agios Nikolaos Museum of this same type. An example from Juktas (J7 of Type AA2I) however, whilst revealing the legs set apart, has the arms crossed over the chest symmetrically. Two more examples from Juktas of unknown sex, Nos. J5 and J6 of Type FF3, revealed this same posture: here the arms 'hang' at the side and slightly away from the body. The significance of this posture in comparison to the more erect and taut standing figures is difficult to determine. The fact they have been noted on three different peak sanctuaries is perhaps important in that it indicates it is not an isolated type restricted to a single site. One explana-

tion is that it is the product of a more rural workshop where techniques and artistic achievements more associated with the palace centres were unknown to the craftsmen. Hence, a cruder version, but a figurine which nevertheless served the same votive purpose when deposited in the sanctuaries, appears together with the more developed types. Many communities must have been located a long distance from the palace centres but they would have been influenced to varying degrees by all the aspects of its growth and authority, and particularly the religious beliefs. The peak sanctuaries, encompassing such large areas and being the focal point of the major religious ceremonies away from the palaces, would have included the smaller communities as well as the urban and the palace populations.

#### b. Seated figurines

Pre-palatial: a much smaller group of figurines are seated. From the Pre-palatial schematic group we have only one example: No. TK4 from Tekes of Type JV, who sits on a thick, square, four-legged stool, and appears to be unique.<sup>102</sup> From the Pre-palatial naturalistic group, there are three figurines from Koumasa (No. 27 of Type FF; Nos. 23 and 24 of Type CC (p194, 197 Pls. 32, 33, 35) which are thought to represent seated figurines. In all cases their legs are crudely bent forwards but missing below the thighs and no chairs or stools have been found with them. A small and crude figurine from Trapeza - No. TR14 of Type GG.I (p199 Fig. 29a) is seated: the presence of a small, four-legged stool found in close proximity to the figure and associated with it, emphasises its seated posture.

Proto-palatial: during the Proto-palatial period the seated figurines appear to be restricted to peak sanctuary sites. Myres noted in his excavation report of Petsopha, "a small class of



seated human figures of which the sex is not clear".<sup>103</sup> He identified various types: the fragment of one that apparently sits on a 'high-backed chair';<sup>104</sup> one 'who sits with legs wide apart on a four-legged chair';<sup>105</sup> 'another who wears a long white-painted garment from head to ankles' - here the feet are formless and project forward in line with the thighs and separated from the chair'.<sup>106</sup> No. 105 of Type RR3 belongs to this latter group. The fact that it is painted white may indicate the figure was thought of as female although no breasts are indicated. Type RR3 is represented by four other seated figures of unknown sex represented on a model from Kamilari (p303 Pl156 ). All four figures are seated on similar four-legged stools and wear long dresses or gowns that extend to the ground. Their torsos are similar and as featureless as the example from Petsopha although no traces of paint remain. The absence of sexual characteristics on the figures from Kamilari is emphasised by the clear rendition of the two figures standing opposite them as male. Despite the similarity of the Kamilari figures with No. 105 from Petsopha, however, I am in doubt as to whether they reflect similar meanings.<sup>107</sup> The example from Petsopha is one of many seated figures that must be equated with the other standing types with no added significance. This is strengthened by example No. 92 of Type CC2.I from Petsopha which represents a male seated figure as is indicated by the loin-cloth and codpiece which is attached. A seated female figurine noted in the Herakleion Museum from Kophinas reveals clear evidence of attached breasts and one leg is distinctly fatter than the other indicating a deformity or illness. Thus the fact they are seated is either to emphasise the disability of a person or a

variation in style, or even both. The figures from Kamilari, however, are not only to be seen within the whole structure of the model but were from a different context - namely a tomb. Whilst it has been emphasised that the model is to be regarded as 'votive', but may represent an entirely secular scene (there are no divine attributes) the significance of the four seated figures may be quite different from those found on peak sanctuaries and of a more isolated nature. What the difference in that significance is, must remain unknown until further new evidence can shed light on a fuller interpretation.

Neo-palatial: from the Neo-palatial period, we have one notable example of a seated female figure from Hagia Triadha - No. 183 of Type NN4. She is naked with large, rounded breasts, a small drawn in waist and large, rounded hips and buttocks. The legs curve in front of her and the whole torso leans forward over the legs, The arms are portrayed in a lively manner in front of her chest. This figurine was found in one of two small storerooms in the West wing of the Villa together with other unusual clay figurines. There is nothing in the associated assemblage or adjoining rooms that suggests religious activity: in fact this area has been referred to as the 'slaves quarter' because of its crude and small functional rooms.<sup>108</sup> Thus this figurine may indicate that it is no more than a personal possession though possibly with subsequent votive intent.<sup>109</sup>

The importance of seated figures has featured prominently in discussions of Minoan religion and evidence for the cult and representations of the goddess(es) in pictographic sources; most notably on seals and rings.<sup>110</sup> The seated posture of an often oversized female figure facing other smaller figures has led to the inter-

pretation of such a figure as a goddess;<sup>111</sup> this then becomes a characteristic of her status. On the gold ring from Mycenae Evans talks of a "seated Goddess";<sup>112</sup> on a seal impression from Knossos she is said to be "seated upon the wing of a pillar shrine";<sup>113</sup> on a gold signet ring from Mochlos Evans identifies a "Goddess seated with her face towards ... stern and raises her hand as if saluting the sanctuary from which she departs".<sup>114</sup> Evans is not alone in this assumption: Brandt in 'Grüss und Gebet ...', identifies the seated Goddess on seals and rings by her seated posture,<sup>115</sup> and believes it to be characteristic of both the Minoan and Mycenaean periods. The evidence on seals and rings whilst depicting cult scenes, however, identified by the various attributes, reveals no evidence for distinguishing the status of figures and even less for identifying any one as a goddess. The enlarged size found in some instances may certainly indicate a higher status but this is not adequate for her interpretation as a goddess.<sup>116</sup> Likewise, her seated posture may denote, quite simply, an alternative method for portraying a figure.<sup>117</sup>

It has already been suggested that the figurines represented the people whom they were deposited by, as votive offerings. To this end the upright posture of the majority must be seen as a consequence of the reverence felt, and the worship of the divinity to whom supplication was being made. The seated figures, whether seen as an alternative method of portrayal or reflecting the disability of an individual or even the status of one within a community are still votive objects to that same goddess.

### c. figurines in action?

A small group of female figurines remain whose posture indicates



that the figure may be representative of one 'in action' and more particularly 'in dancing'. During the Proto-palatial period they are best seen in examples of Type QQ2 where the motion is rendered by giving the bell-shaped skirts a wavy and irregular appearance. The sides of the skirt are pulled out and the centre front pressed inwards, leaving either one or two depressions. The back retains a rounded projection denoting protruding buttocks and the waist is drawn in to emphasise this whilst the front maintains a wavy contour. Three examples of this type come from Petsopha (85, 103, 104) and one from Prinias (154 of Type SS2).

During the Neo-palatial period this 'motion' is most noticeable amongst the bronze female figurines and more particularly Types RR4 and VV4 (nos. 184 and 761, 759 from Agia Triadha Villa, p. 391 & 396 Pl. 189 ). Here too the wavy contour may be observed in the front of the skirt, and the buttocks protrude beneath the skirt, whilst the torso inclines forwards, and the head is bent downwards. Evidence for dance rituals come from a number of sources, the model from Kamilari being the best example in the round, depicting four dancers on a circular base. Pictographic representations in the form of seals and gems are numerous: here the figures are depicted as being 'in motion' though hardly ever in a linked and formalized dance.<sup>118</sup> The kind of motion represented in these apparently religious contexts is normally associated with 'ecstatic' rituals which would involve vigorous movement of the body (Tables 40 & 41). The action reflected in these figurines is better understood, however, when correlated to their gestures and it is to this we must now turn.



TABLE 31

TYPES AND POSTURES FOR THE PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	1	2	3	4	5
AA2I		✓			
II	(?)✓	✓			
III	(?)✓				
IV	✓	(?b)			
V		✓			
BB2	✓				
CC2I		✓		(a)	
II	(?)				
III					
DD2I	✓				
EE2	(?)✓				
FF2		(?b)			
GG2	(?)	✓			
HH2	✓				
II2					
JJ2I			✓		
II			✓		
KK2					
LL2			✓		
NN2I			✓		
II					
PP2			✓		
QQ2			✓		
RR2			✓		
SS2			✓		
TT2I					
II					
III					
IV			(?/)		
UU2I			(?/)		
II					
VV2					
WW2					
XX2					

TABLE 32  
POSTURE: A SUMMARY

POSTURE	TYPE	PERIOD	MEANING
STANDING/ LYING	1, 2 (a+b) 3, 5 (a+b)	Pre-palatial Proto-palatial Neo-palatial	Worship (adoration/reverence) Death (the deceased)
SEATED	Type 4	Pre-palatial Proto-palatial	Status Age Illness (& healing) ? Divinity
IN ACTION	Type 3	Proto-palatial	Dancing (Ritualistic & Secular?)

## 2. Gesture (Tables 33-37)

### Introduction: towards a framework

Fifteen major gesture types have been identified in the Minoan figurines studied and seen. Most contain a number of varieties; Type 2, for example has nine variations, Type 4 has six and Type 3 has four. The great range of gestures and the fact that many are regularly repeated indicates that they are not only technical and artistic achievements in the modelling of the figurines but that they hold some degree of significance in so much as they reflect a deliberate 'action'. For their interpretation figural representations in glyptic have proved most instructive in that figures are seen to be not only 'in action' but in the context of a complete scene. Those scenes in which constructions of known religious attributes are depicted - confirmation of the religious significance of the gestures - are of particular importance, and in these instances some parallels have been noted between gestures on figurines and representations of them in glyptic.

The significance of gesture in figurines has been raised in discussion before now: Nilsson in his short survey of Minoan figurines concluded that "it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to the character of the idols from their attitudes".<sup>119</sup> His primary concern, however, was to establish whether the figurines represented divinities or worshippers: gesture he considered as a criterion for such an analysis and ultimately all he was able to conclude was that the "attitudes were various" though most, within a few major groups. Brandt<sup>120</sup> produced an extensive survey on gesture in Minoan and Mycenaean glyptic and demonstrated that the representations on seals of cult dances and worship are complemented by the votive statuettes,<sup>121</sup>

GESTURES

- Type 1: (a) Both arms folded over waist, left over right  
 (b) Both arms folded over waist, meeting in centre  
 (c) Arms indicated by incision only

- Type 2: Both arms held to chest
- (a) with elbows raised and hands held apart resting on chest
  - (b) with elbows raised and hands touching in centre of chest
  - (c) with elbows raised and hand held to side of chest
  - (d) with elbows raised and hands below breasts/chest
  - (e) with elbows held down touching flanks and hands held apart resting on chest
  - (f) with elbows held down touching flanks and hands touching in centre of chest
  - (g) arms looped round to front with hands meeting in centre of chest
  - (h) arms looped round to front with hands below breasts
  - (i) elbows held down with hands held to breasts.

- Type 3: Arms outstretched sideways

- (a) straight
- (b) bent at elbows
- (c) 'hanging'
- (d) projecting arm stumps

- Type 4: Both arms held forwards in front of body

- (a) straight
- (b) bent at elbow with forearms tilting up
- (c) curved round in front
- (d) curved round with hands touching in front at chin level
- (e) curved round with one forearm tilted upwards and the other forearm held in front of body horizontally
- (f) curved round and inclined downwards with hands touching at navel



- Type 5: One arm to chest with other held down by side
- (a) right arm with left hanging
    - (i) loosely (ii) taut (iii) bent
  - (b) left arm with right hanging
    - (i) loosely (ii) taut (iii) bent
- Type 6: Right arm held to forehead, elbow raised with left held down by side
- (a) right arm resting on forehead with left hand held
    - (i) loosely (ii) taut (iii) bent to hip/side
  - (b) right arm resting on forehead covering eyes with left
    - (i) bent to side of body (ii) held down by side
  - (c) right arm resting on forehead with left crossed over chest to opposite shoulder
- Type 7: One arm crossed over chest and shoulder with other arm around waist
- Type 8: Both arms crossed over chest
- (a) right over left, left higher
  - (b) left over right, right higher
  - (c) symmetrically
- Type 9: Arms covering chest with hands to chin
- Type 10: Both arms held down by side
- Type 11: (a) both arms bent at elbow with hands on hips
- (b) both arms held loosely to hips
- Type 12: One arm with elbow raised and held up towards head with other arm curved round and inclining downwards
- Type 13: Both arms held out horizontally in front with both forearms held to forehead and hands covering face
- Type 14: Left arm inclining downwards with hand on lap and right arm outstretched forwards in front of body.
- Type 15: Both arms held up with hands on head

In the latter they are represented by the lifting of both arms, one arm; both or one hand(s) held to the hips/waist/breasts and in one case both hands held to the head. In glyptic she identifies three types of gesture<sup>122</sup> (a) those before the goddess appears (invocation gesture); (b) those held during her presence (adoration gesture) and (c) those of the goddess herself (the epiphany gesture identified by its mirror image in the gesture of the worshipper). In Brandt's study figurines are only used as a 'complement' to the study of gesture in glyptic, and hence lack the range and detailed knowledge of the gestures presented in this thesis. Furthermore, in her study of gesture in glyptic, Brandt differentiates the status of figures when there is little justification for doing so and consequently her identification of one type of gesture as the 'epiphany of the goddess' and another as 'invocation'<sup>123</sup> may be misleading, combined with the fact that most of the figurines used to strengthen her argument belong to the period after the destruction of the palaces in LMIB. Brandt concedes that the later 'idols' of LMII and III are different from the earlier votive figurines,<sup>124</sup> but does little to expand on this. In addition she realises that the visualization of the goddess by the worshipper is in the image of man and with his/her gestures. If this is the case the evidence of divine attributes and a seated figure in these scenes is not adequate to identify one figure as a goddess and another as not, as she suggests.<sup>125</sup> The importance of using glyptic parallels in this discussion therefore, is not for the identification of the goddess or other deities, but in order to establish that the gestures symbolize intended 'actions'.

There are problems inherent in using such comparative data which may in turn affect interpretation and are, therefore, outlined here.

(1) Firstly, one is dealing with two completely different media of artistic expression: glyptic is a specialized craft where the surfaces to be carved or engraved not only vary in quality, shape and texture but are only a few mm. in size. Thus the craftsmen is confined both by the material and the size of the surface.

(2) Secondly, where patterns or single symbols were represented the task was relatively straightforward, but in later glyptic where whole scenes were being depicted, an additional constraint was imposed by the fact that the artist had to render the scene 'effectively'. Complete representations of events or ritual acts were impossible to reproduce on such small surfaces: thus only 'highlights' could be given but in such a way that they had to succeed both as an art in themselves and as an effective representation of what was desired as a subject.<sup>126</sup> Consequently, gesture became a symbolic rendering of an action or series of actions. The gestures of figurines modelled in the round preserve such symbolism but in a more static manner and in isolation to the viewer when separated from their contexts. The glyptic figures are preserved within a scene.

The most difficult problem in comparing figurines with figures in glyptic is that of chronology.

(3) Figural representations appeared on seals as early as EMII/III<sup>127</sup> but it was not until the period of the New Palaces that the human figure started to assume a more prominent role and more realistic appearance.<sup>128</sup> Figurines moulded in the round however, had long been in existence and with recognisable gestures both in the Pre-palatial period and most particularly in the Proto-palatial period. The more important and regularly used figural representations found on seals and rings are not only later in date therefore, but many were



found on the mainland (at Mycenae and Tiryns.)<sup>129</sup> Figurines of the period contemporary with the acme of these centres had a very different form and style and were indicative of new values and ideas. To use such a comparison constructively, therefore, one must accept a theoretical framework within which two separate artistic traditions are emerging (figurines on the one hand and glyptic on the other), each the product of different material media and different needs/functions, but which nevertheless at varying points in their individual developments came close together in comparability as a result of a common bond. The common factor which draws the two media together in terms of expression is religious ritual which one must understand as having various basic and constant elements, even if these evolved and became more sophisticated with the passage of time and the emergence of a more complex form of society. The ideas that influenced the motifs and forms of seals and rings may, however, occur at a different time from those that influenced the form of the figurines, even if that basic idea had the same source. That figural representations on Mycenaean rings show comparable forms and gestures to Minoan figurines is evidence of that process and of the continuation of various fundamental beliefs within two different but overlapping societies. It is within such a framework that such chronological discrepancies as exist in such a comparison can be both understood and used to the best advantage. Let us now return more specifically to the gestures.

#### The Pre-palatial Period

During the Pre-palatial period types 1 and 2 (e) and (f) are the most commonly found gestures amongst the figurines; the remainder reveal either no evidence for arms, or crude projecting arm stumps.



Type 1 is characterised by both the arms folded over the waist, either carved or modelled or indicated by incisions and is a feature of schematic types only, particularly Type A (incision) and Type *JJ-V* (modelled). Only one male example has been found to date, of Type *JJ*, the remainder are exclusively female as in Types *JJ-V* or of an 'unknown' sex (Type A).

For the naturalistic group of this period, where arms are extant and/or discernable, figurines are predominantly depicted with gesture types 2(e) and (f) characterized by the elbows held down touching the flanks and the forearms bent upwards with hands resting on the chest, and all are female. This latter gesture is a far more common feature of the Proto-palatial figurines where males and females alike are depicted in a far more realistic manner, their arms moulded onto their torsos separately and their elbows raised high and away from the body from where their forearms are bent to the chest.

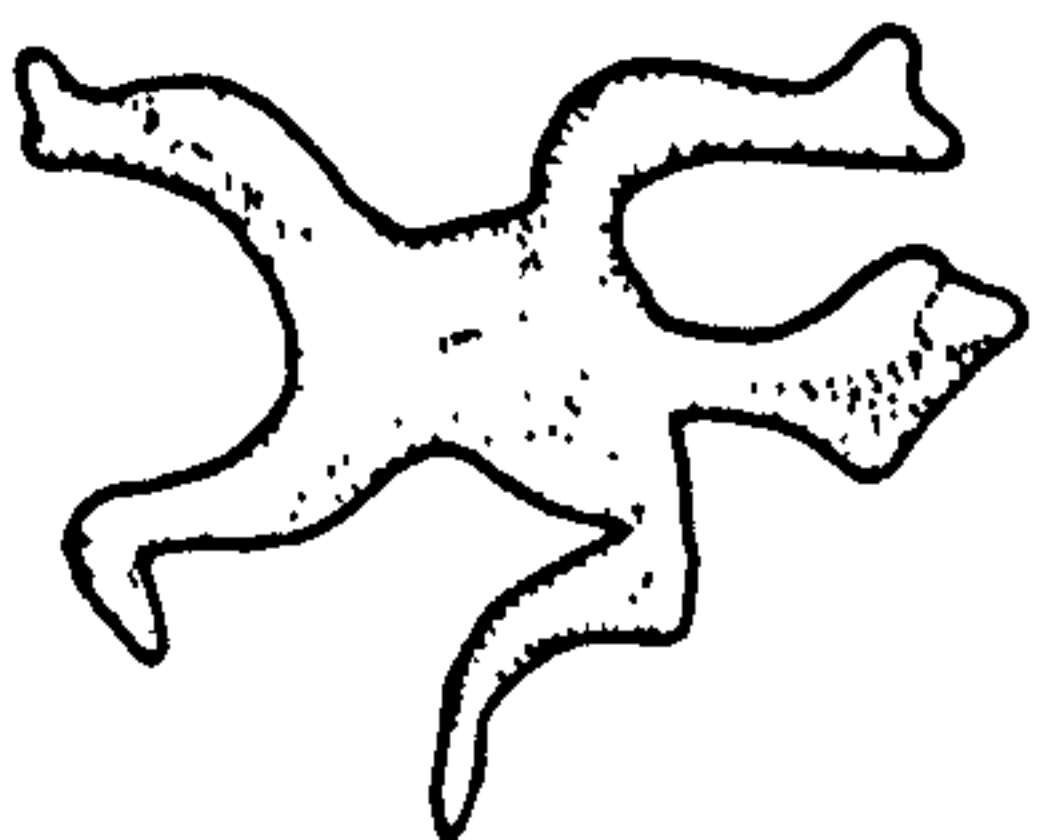
For gesture Type 1 and the Pre-palatial variations of Type 2 (i.e. (e) and (f)) there are no parallels either in contemporary or later glyptic. Figural representation on Pre-palatial seals<sup>130</sup> are not only crude but display few or no religious attributes or associations, and the majority are either male or of an indistinguishable sex (Table 31). They do have distinct gestures but their interpretation must remain ambiguous; only one, from Kasteli Pedeada<sup>131</sup> (Table 31(vi)) may have cult associations and represents two women apparently dancing around what could be viewed as a sun or sun-symbol. The great abundance of seals and gems found particularly in tombs during the Pre-palatial period suggests that their function at this time did not require them to represent images of a religious nature but were more concerned with their symbolic value in representing status and/or the identification of individuals at burial.

This is further emphasised by the predominance and obvious preference for a variety of patterns and symbols engraved on to seal and gem surfaces<sup>132</sup> and the lack of religious attributes and/or associations where figures are depicted. There is little doubt that it would have been technically possible to reproduce imitation images of the simple forms of figurines in the round onto sealstones if it had been so desired or required.

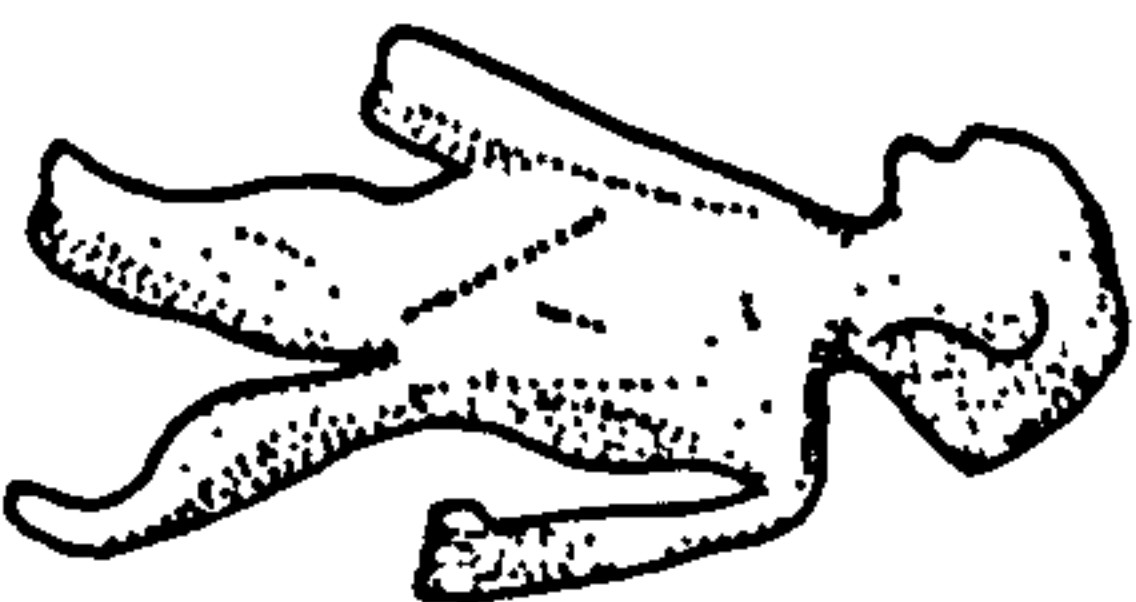
The gestures found on Early Minoan figurines lack the vigour and movement seen in later types, and indeed the few figures in glyptic, which despite their ambiguous meaning, appear at least animated. Instead, the Early Minoan figurines appear 'formal' and give a sense of 'immobility' or being 'at rest'. This may have been partly representative of a particular style - one which was adopted because it represented adequately the needs for which it was created, both in the life of the individual(s) and at times of sickness and death. Thus the figures may be shown with arms extending across their chests to the breasts, but their elbows held down, or with their arms folded over their waists. In both cases the gestures are suitable for erect figures or lying down figures, for times of life and for times of death. This is in marked contrast to figurines of the succeeding period where their gestures, for the majority, are seen to reflect all the life and vitality that the figurines of this period lack. This is not to deny however the possibility that we have in some of these Early Minoan figurines the beginnings of a tradition of gestures that are given popularity later. One might cite, for example, gesture type 2(e) and (f) which suggest adoration and reverence and even those figurines with short projecting arm stumps held slightly forwards, which may indicate an

'offering' gesture (No. 220 of Type GGII from Myrtos). In both cases technical considerations on the part of the craftsmen may have prevented the appearance of more developed gestures, rather than any difference in attitude of function between this and the succeeding period.

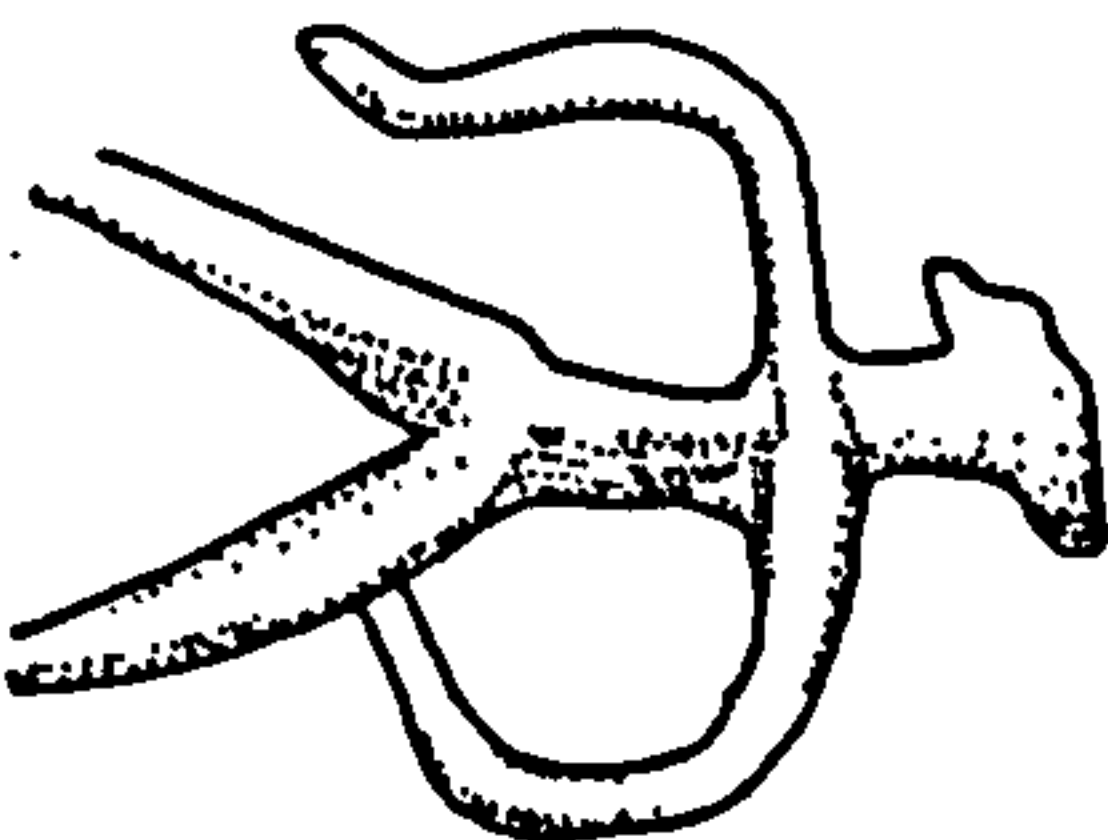
TABLE 33 : PRE-PALATIAL FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN GLYPHIC



I



II



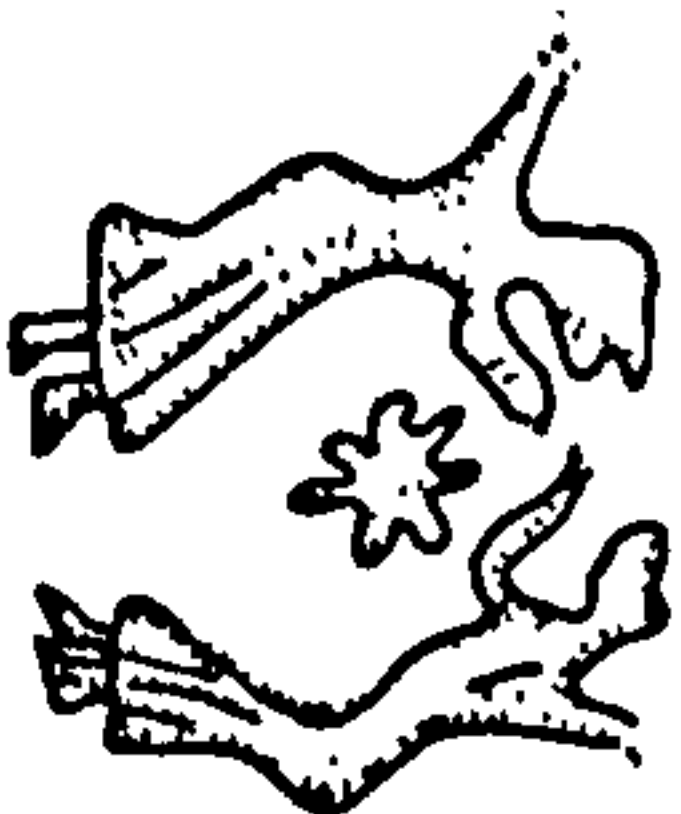
III



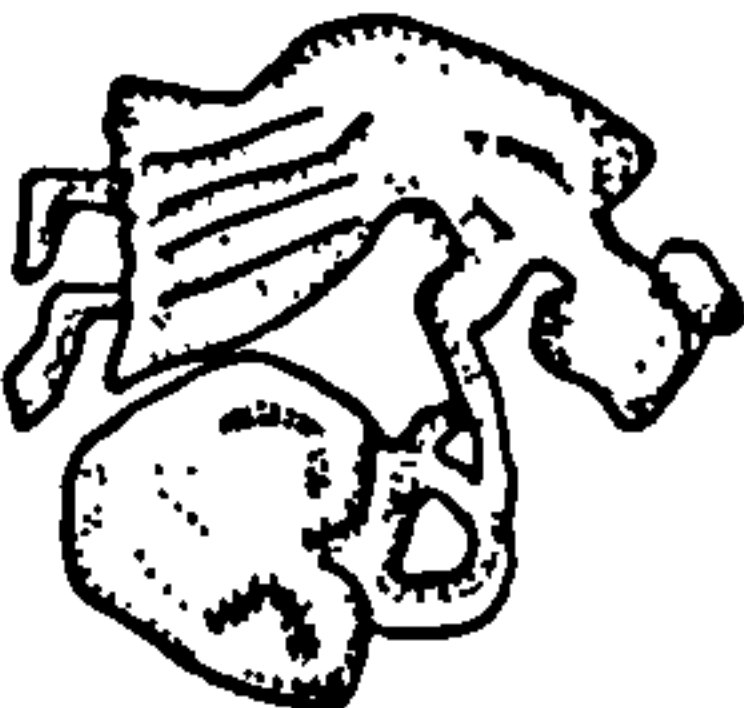
IV



V



VI

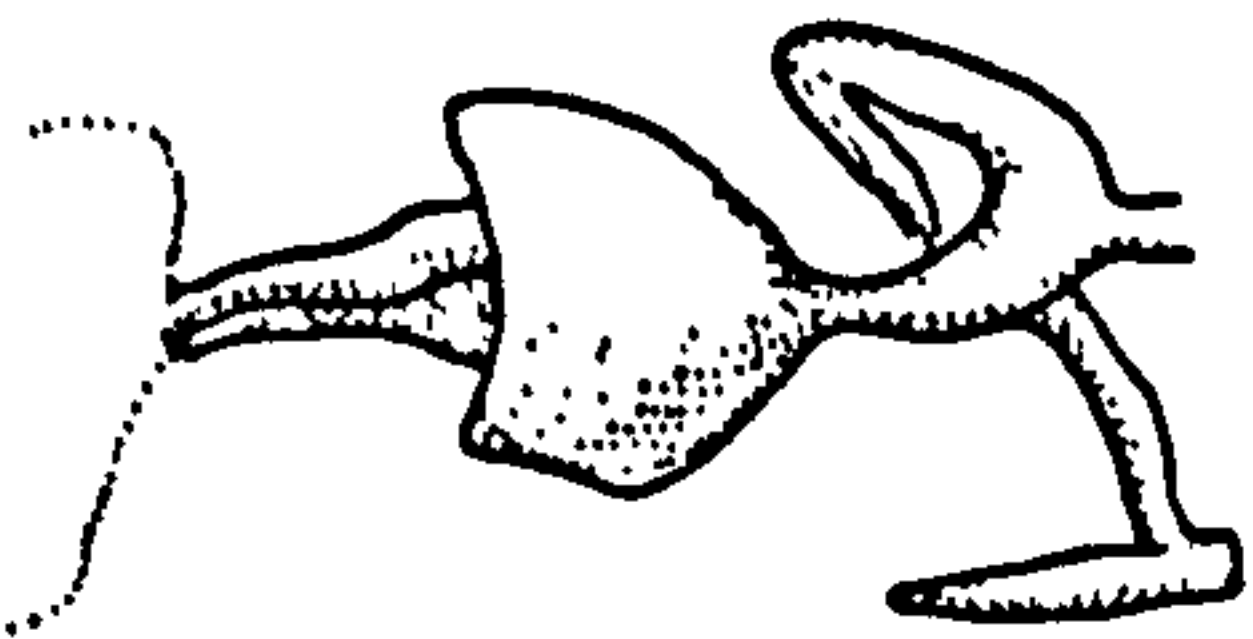


VII

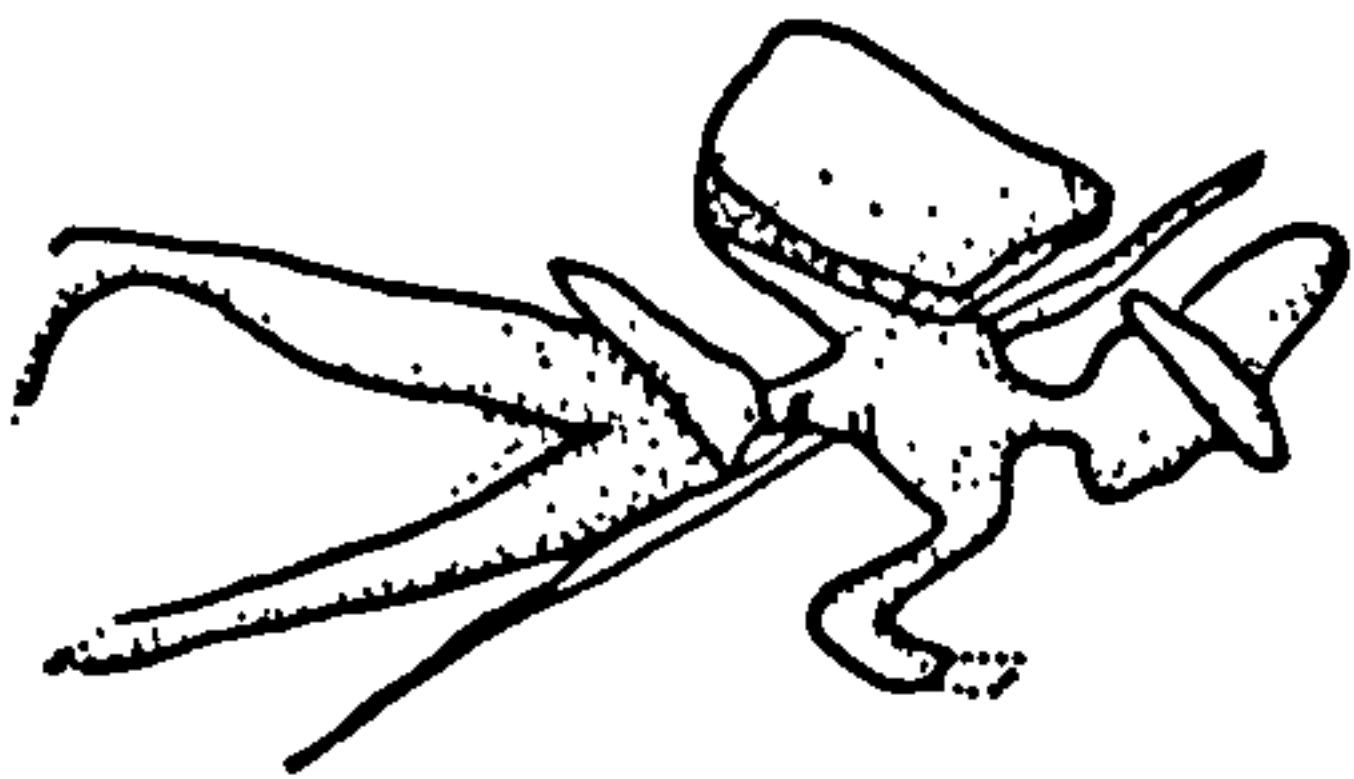
I:JM DAWKINS CMS VIII 1966, No 5,9. II:KOUNASA CMS II 1969, No 145,165. III:PORTI CMS II 1969, No 365,422. IV:CENTRAL CRETE CMS IX 1972, No 25,47. V:KASTELLI PEDEADA PM I 1921,124,d1. VI:KASTELLI PEDEADA PM I 1921,124,b1. VII:KASTELLI PEDEADA PM I 1921,124,c1.



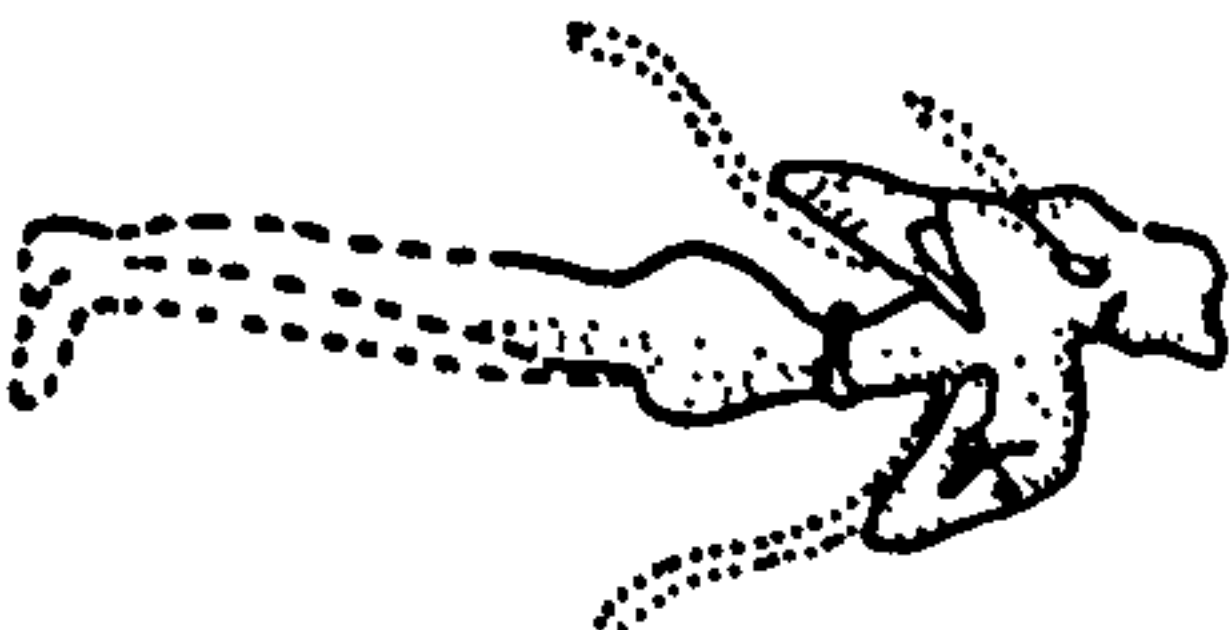
TABLE 34 : NEO- AND POST-PALATIAL FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN GLYPHTIC



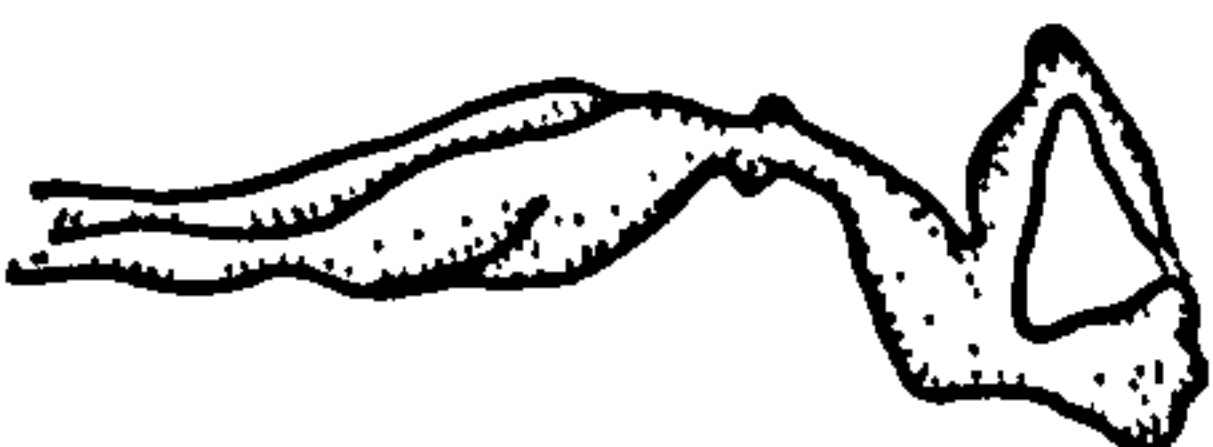
VIII



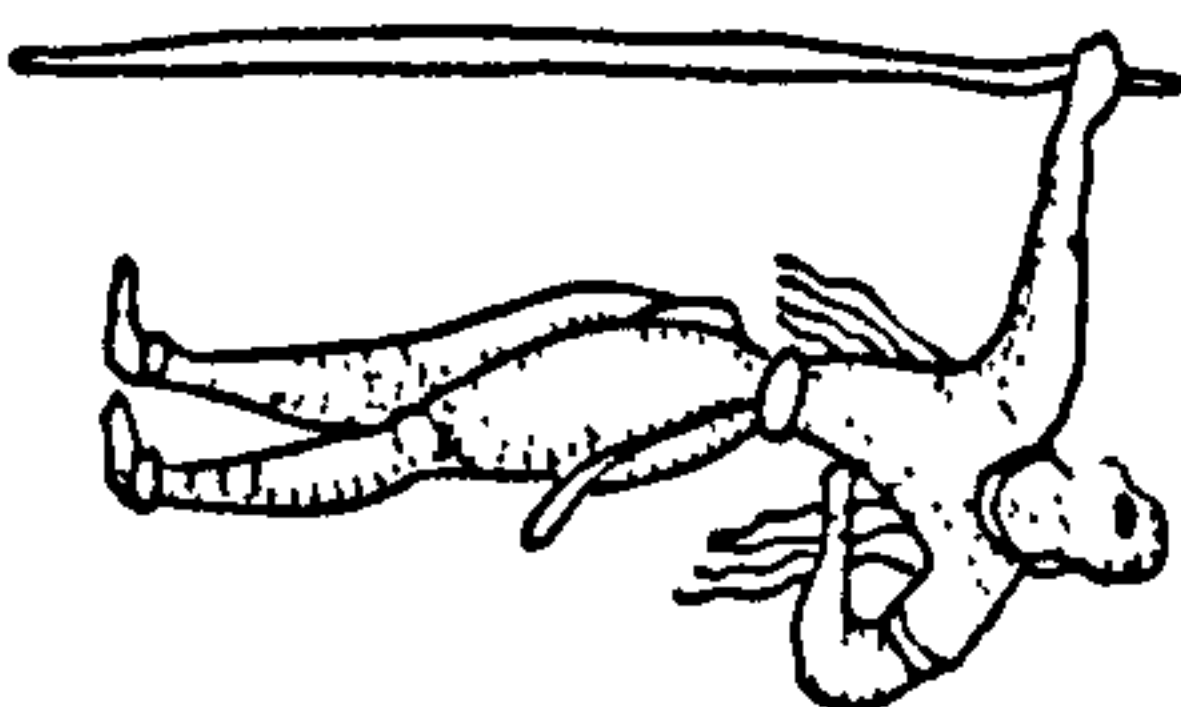
IX



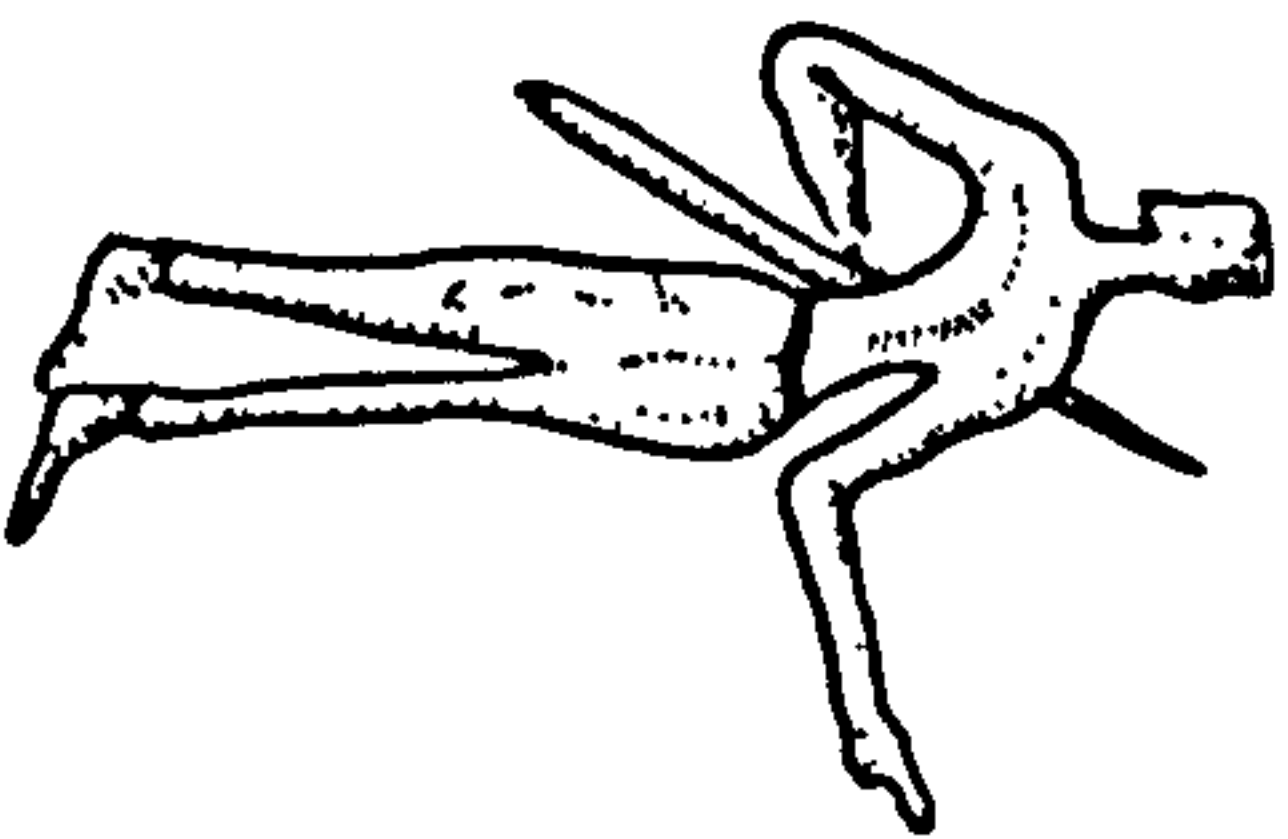
X



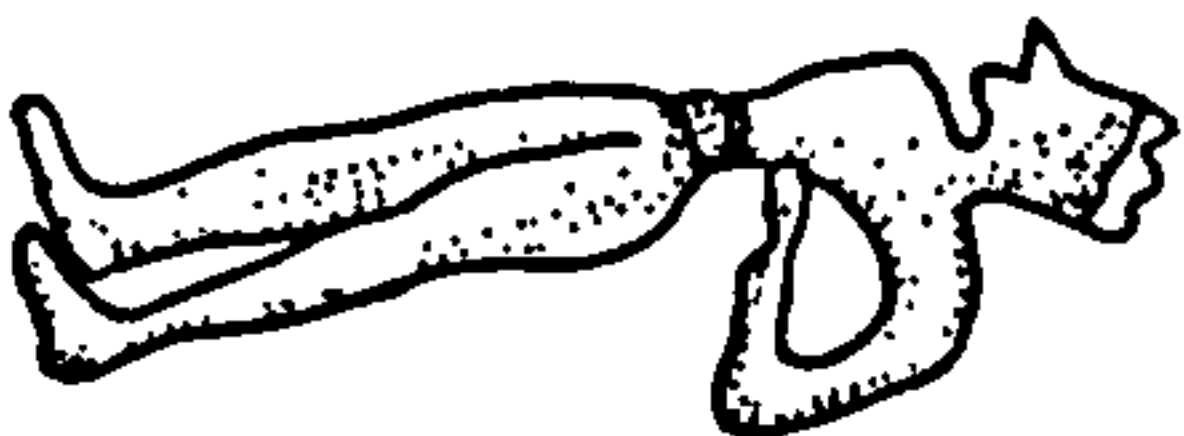
XI



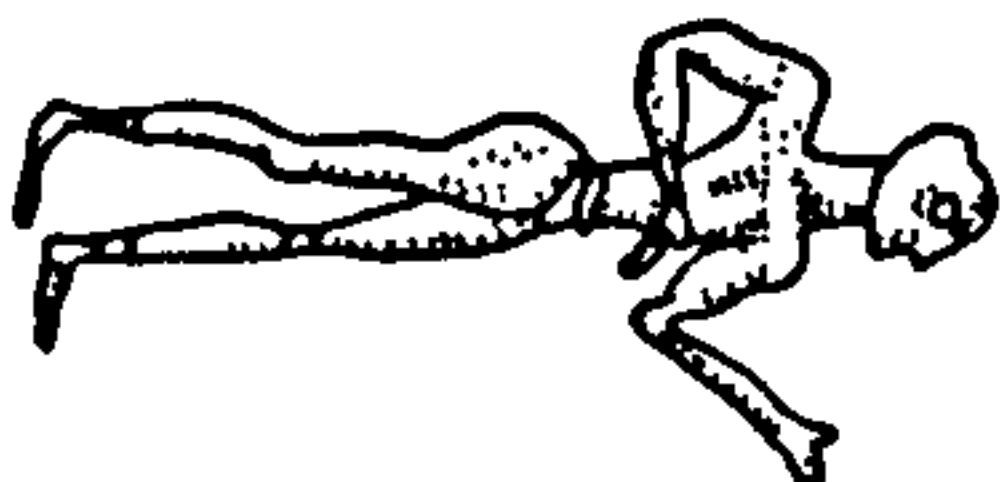
XII



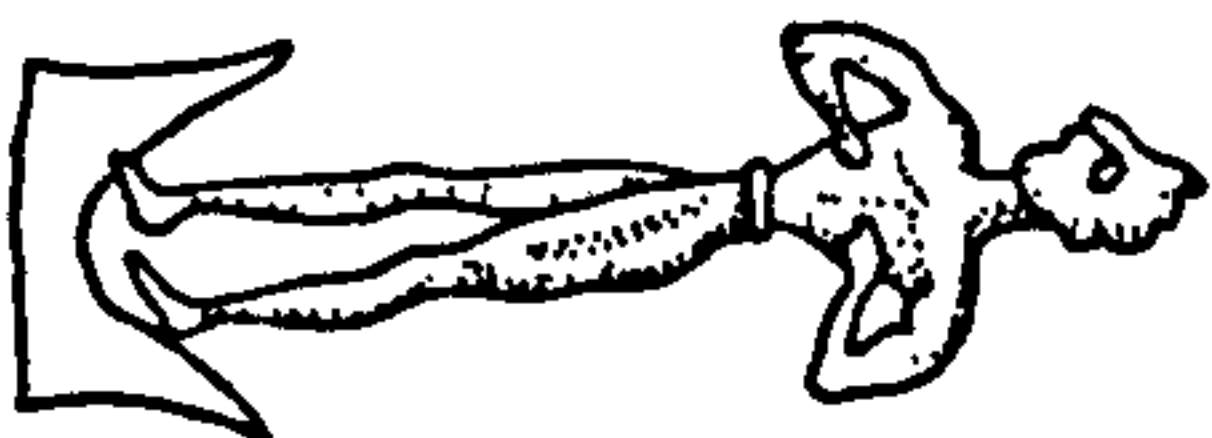
XIII



XIV



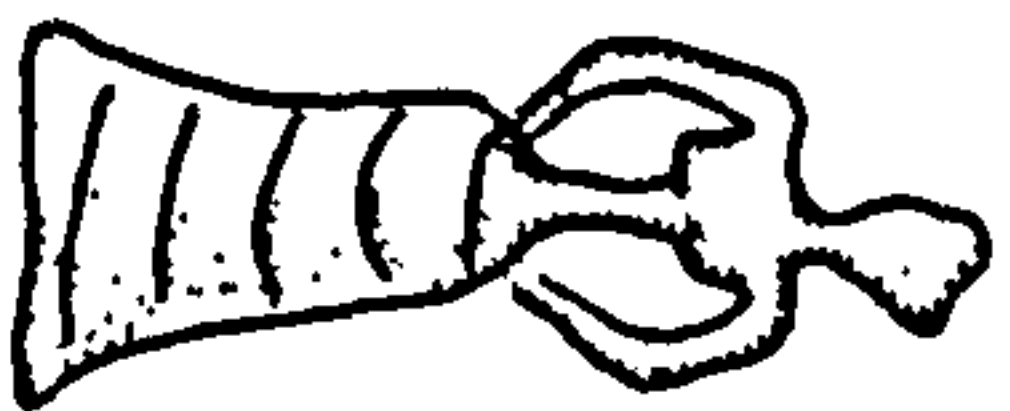
XV



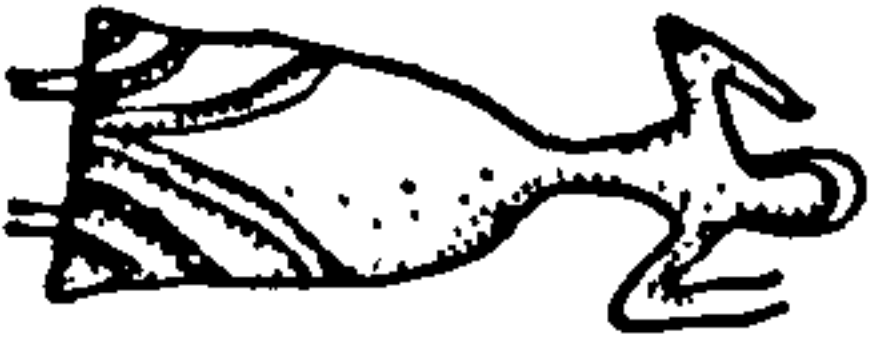
XVI

VIII: HAGIA TRIADA PM II 1928, fig 500, 769. IX: KNOSSOS PM II 1928, fig 547, 832. X: KNOSSOS PM II 1928, fig 459, 765. XI: KNOSSOS BSA VII 1900, fig 29, 28. XII: KASTELLI-KHANIA HALAGER 1985, fig 15a, 54. XIII: MYCENAE PM III 1930, fig 324, 464. XIV: ISOPATA PM II 1928, fig 496, 766. XV: MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901, fig 55, 182. XVI: KYDONIA CMS V, 201.

TABLE 35 : NEO-PALATIAL FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN GLYPHTIC



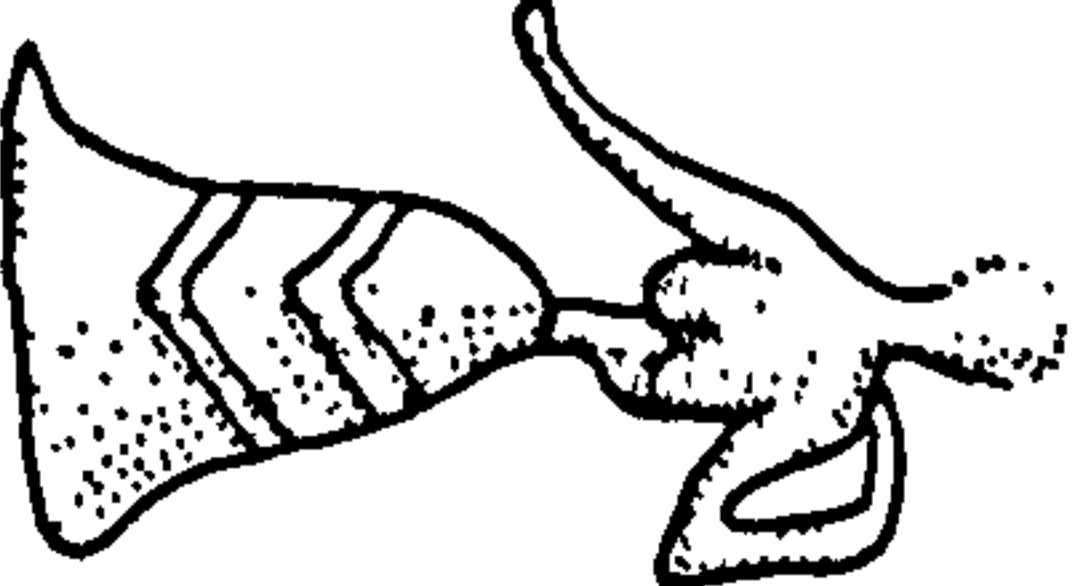
XVI



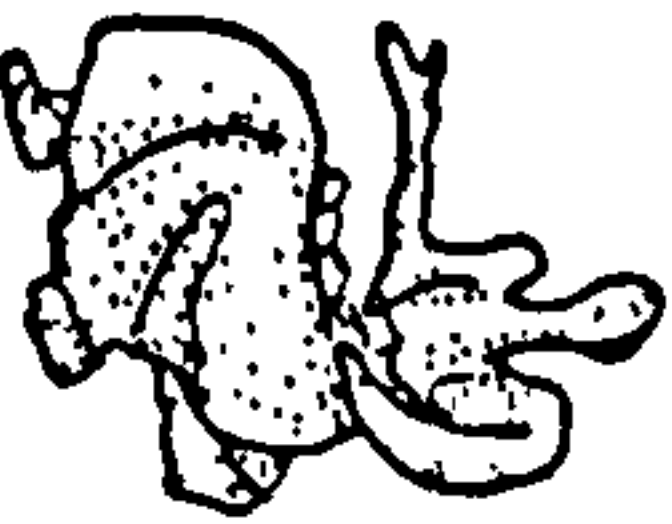
XVII



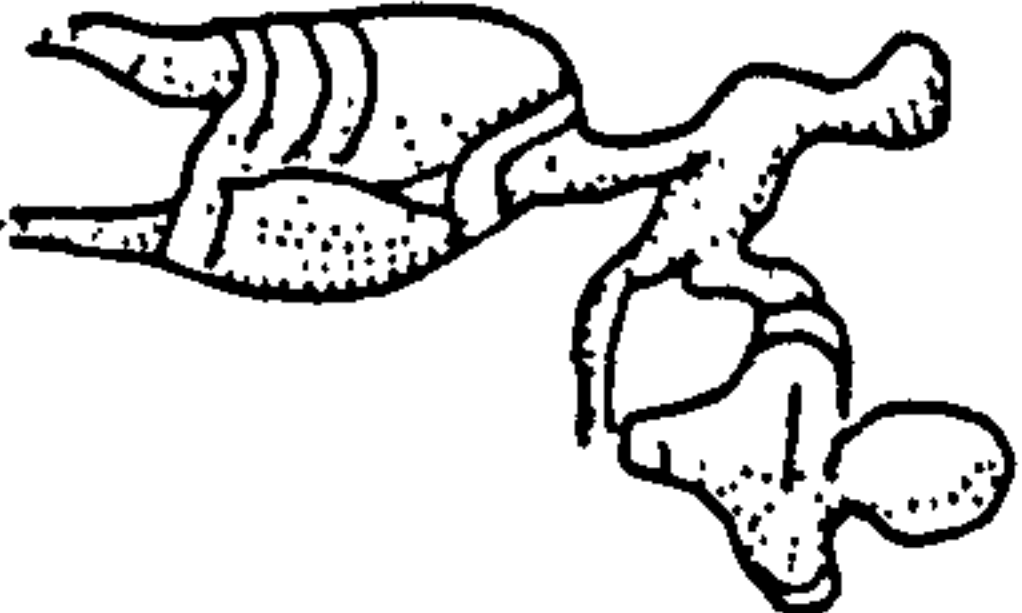
XVIII



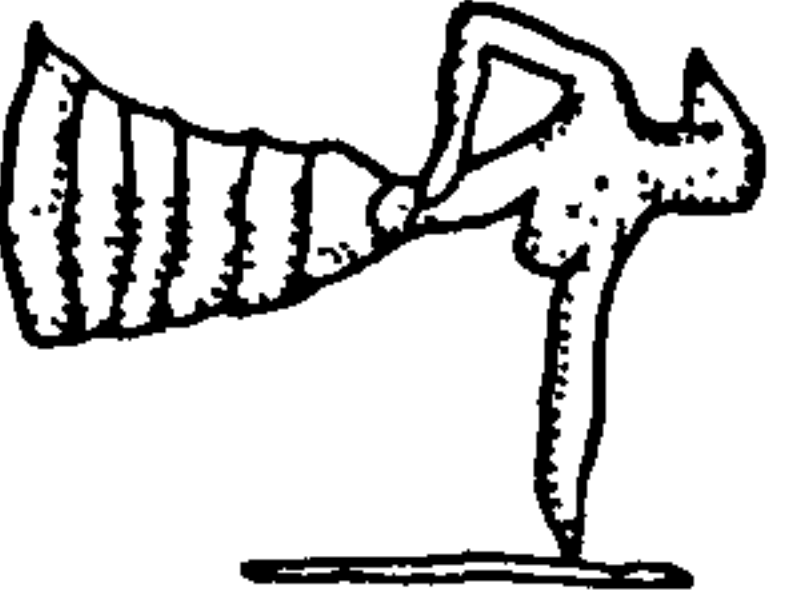
XIX



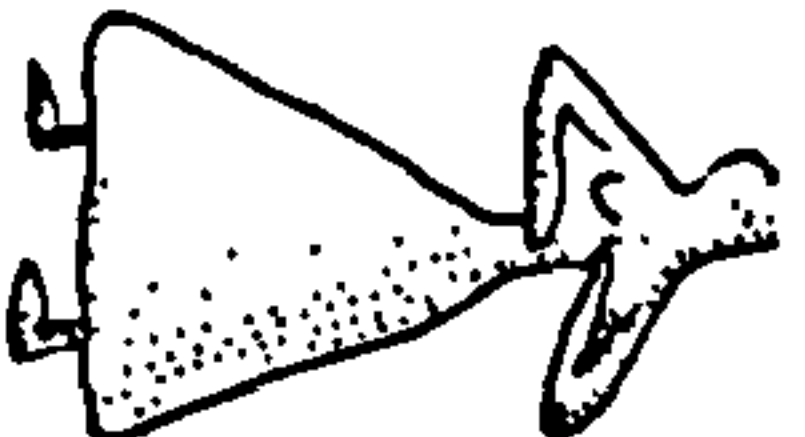
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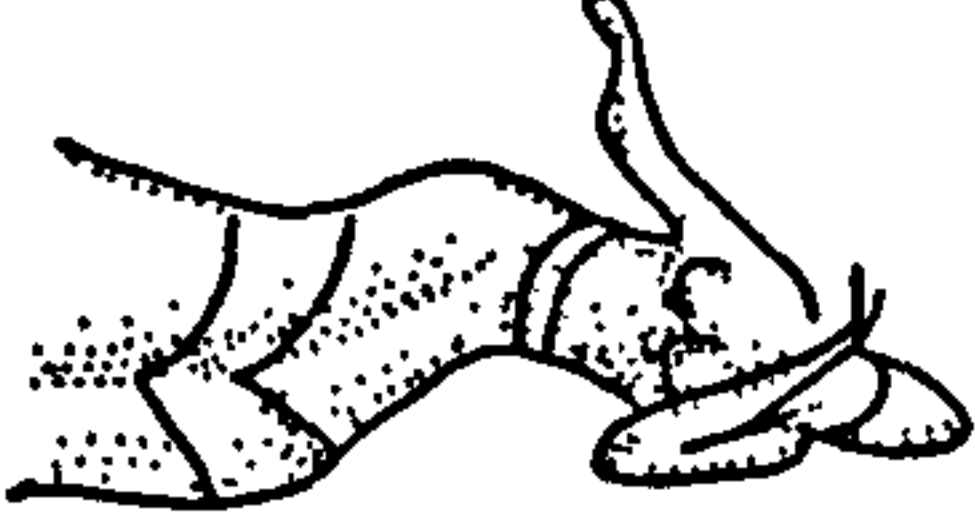
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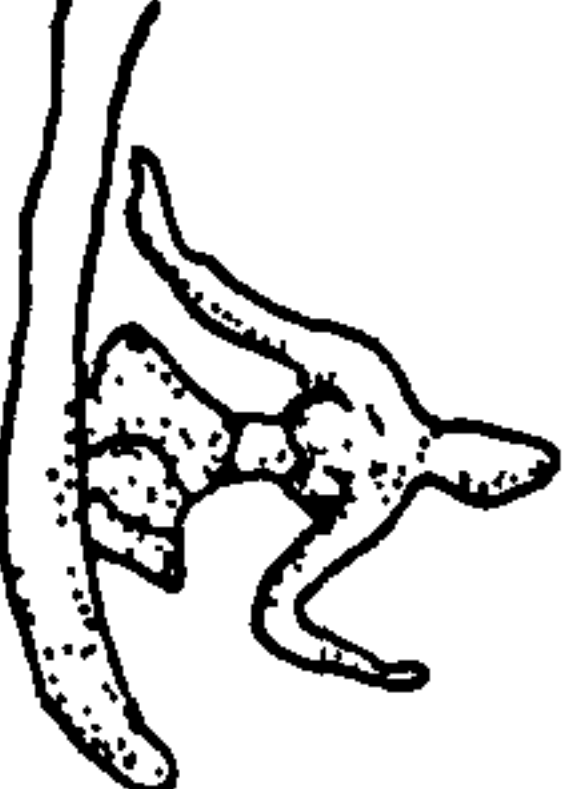
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XXIII



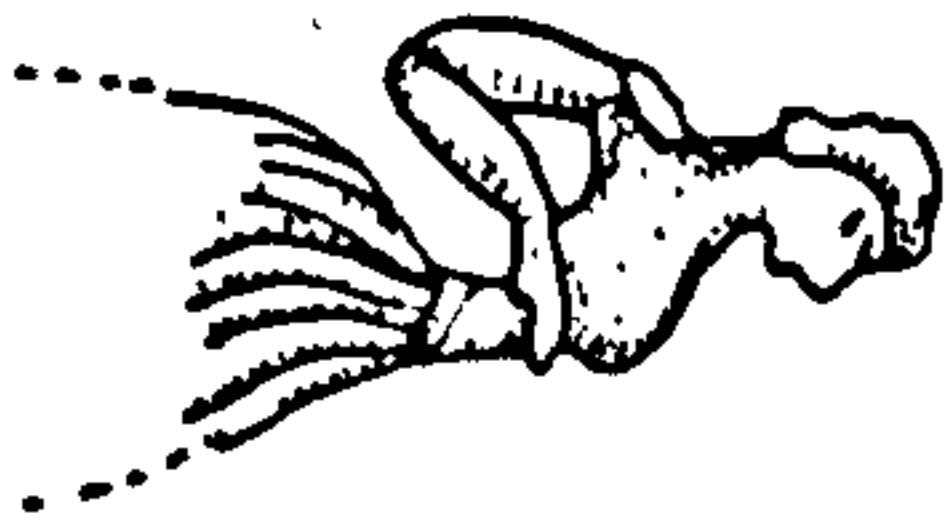
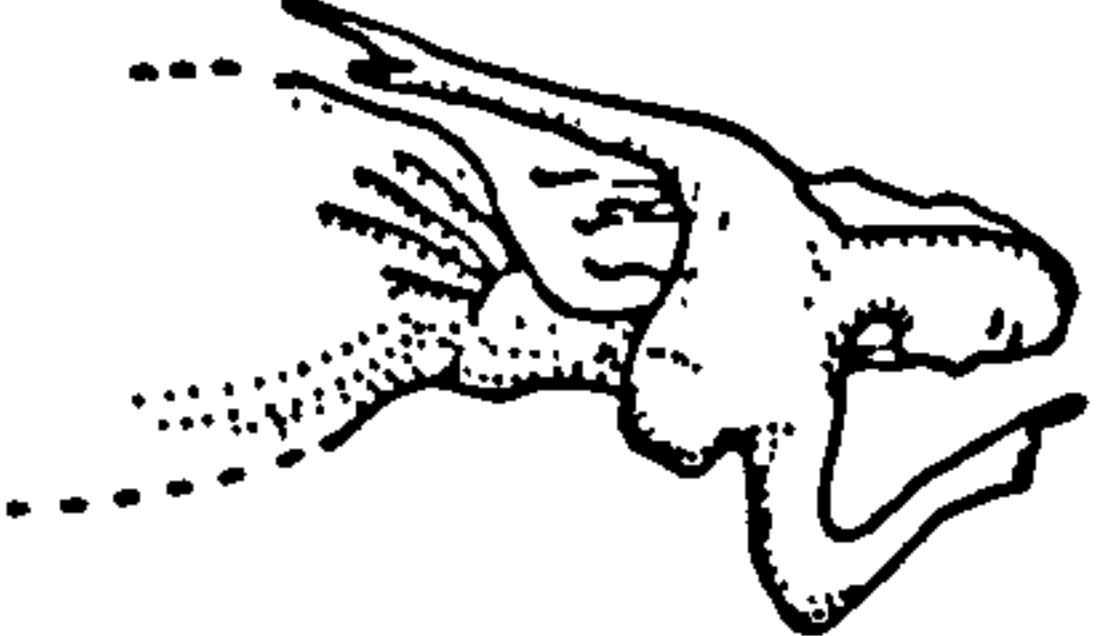
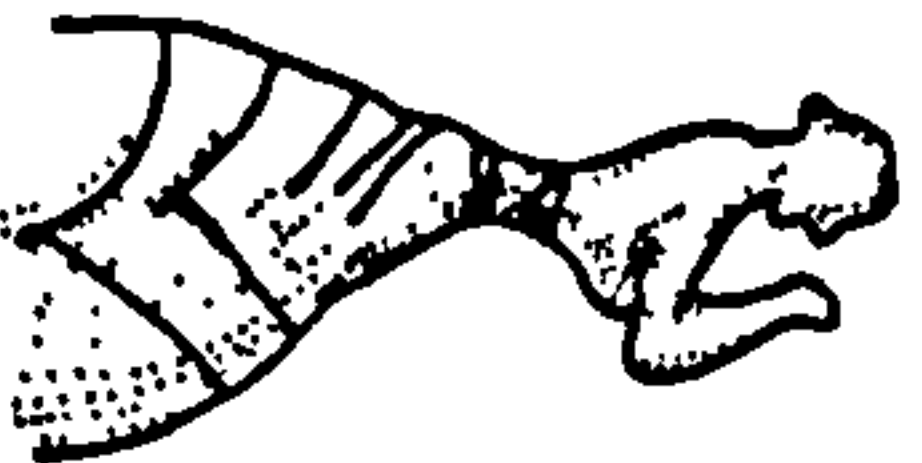
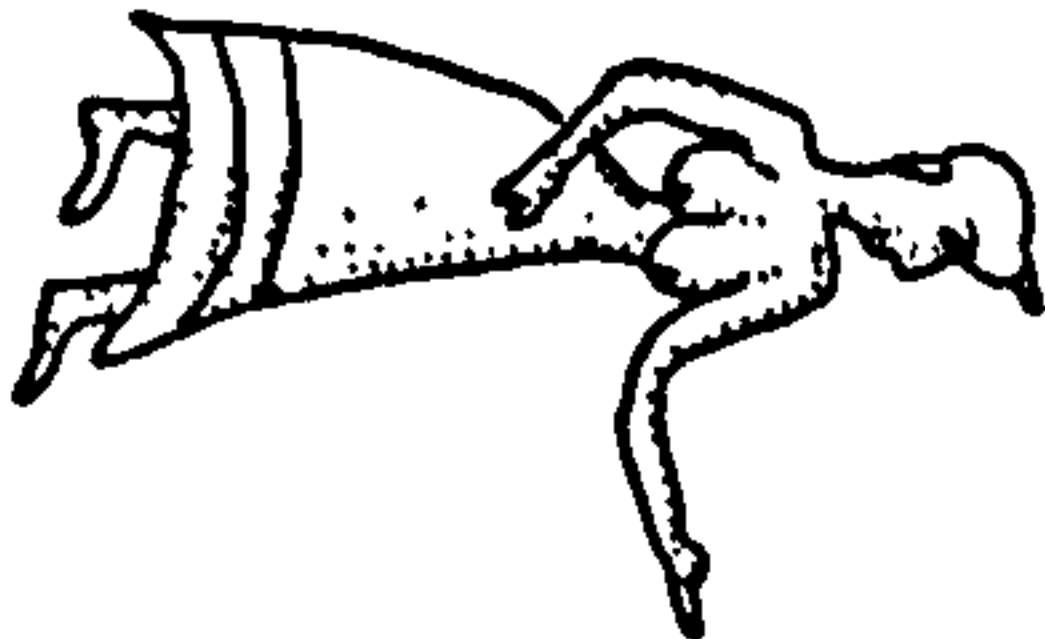
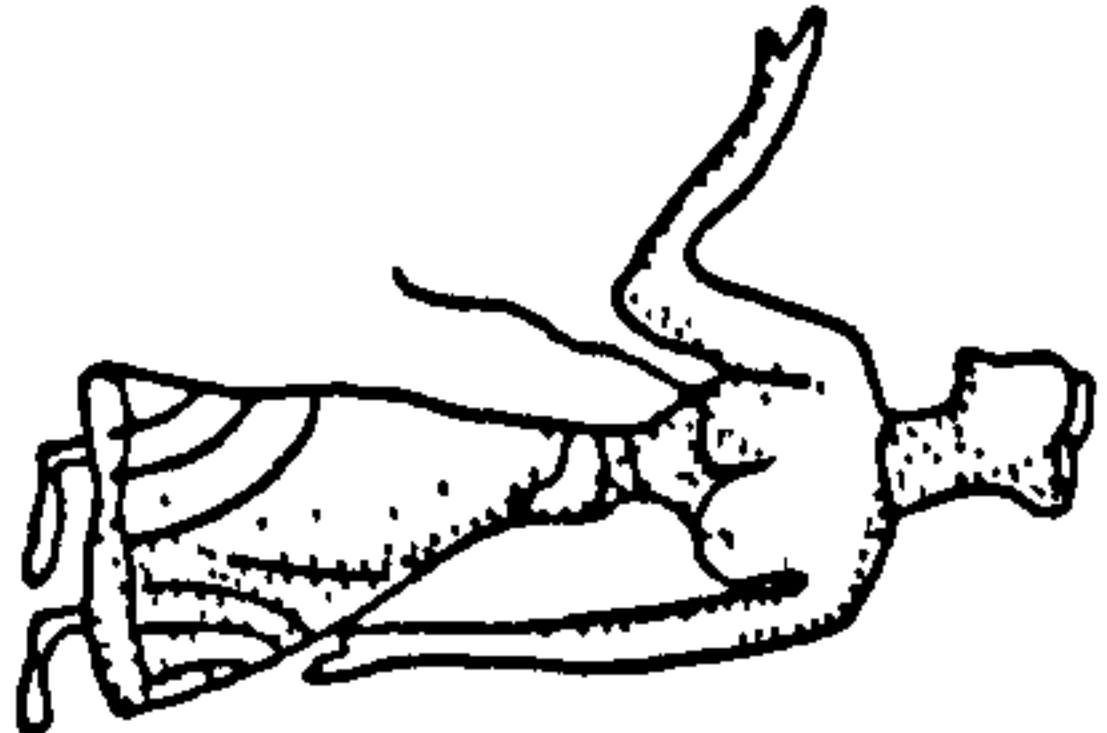
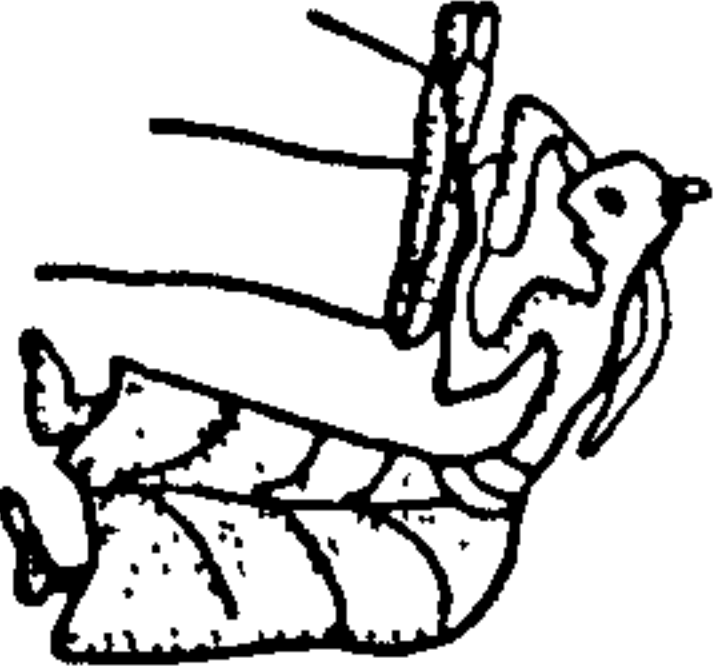
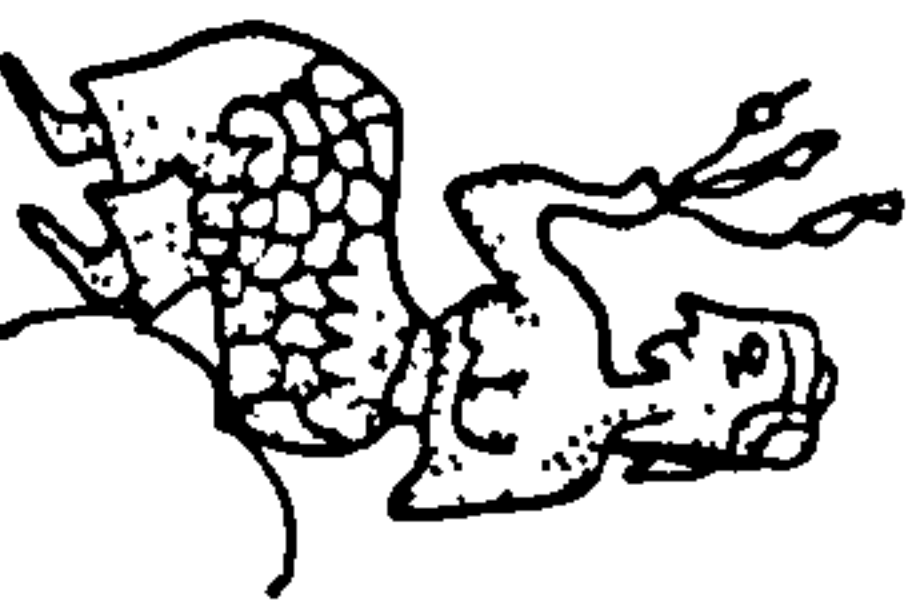
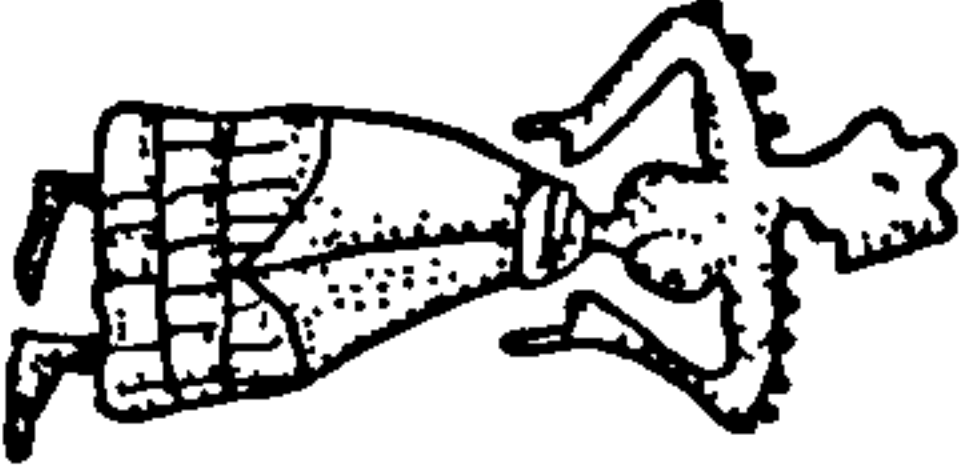
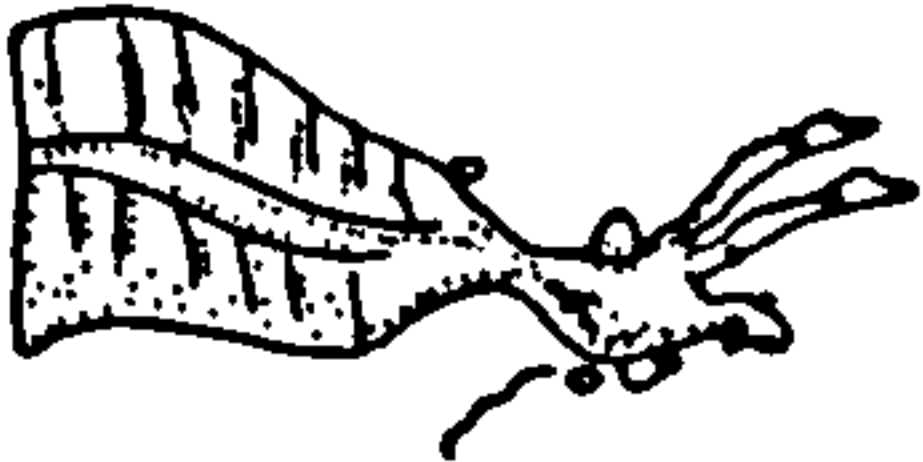
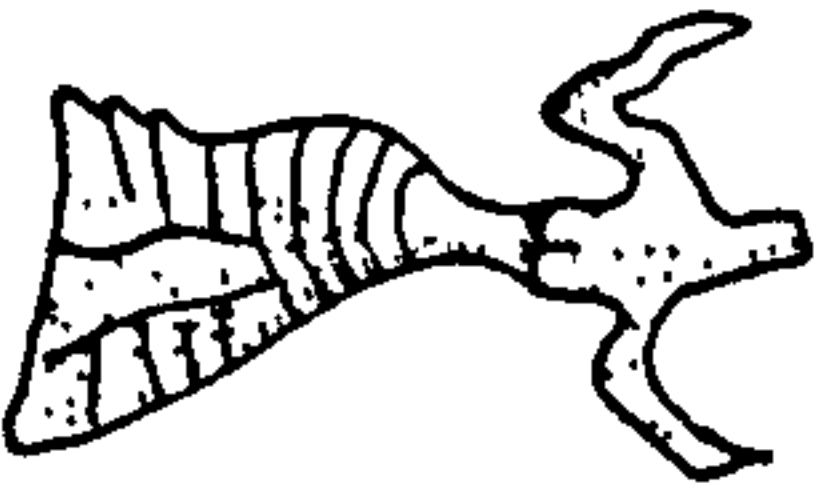
XXIV



XXV

XVI:HAGIA TRIADHA JHS XLV 1925,fig 13,12. XVII:HAGIA TRIADHA JHS XXI 1901,182. XVIII:HAGIA TRIADHA Astene VII 1925,fig 152,13  
XIX:HAGIA TRIADHA Astene VIII 1925,fig 154,140. XX:HAGIA TRIADHA Astene VIII 1925,fig 158,142. XXI:KNOSSOS BSA VII 1900,19.  
XXII:KNOSSOS BSA VII 1900,fig 29,28. XXIII:ZAKROS JHS XXI 1901,No 10,78. XXIV:ASHMOLEAN RGPT 1942,fig 1,32. XXV:MOCHLOS  
SEAGER 1912,fig 52,89.

TABLE 36 : POST-PALATIAL FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN GLYPHIC (AND MYCENAEAN)

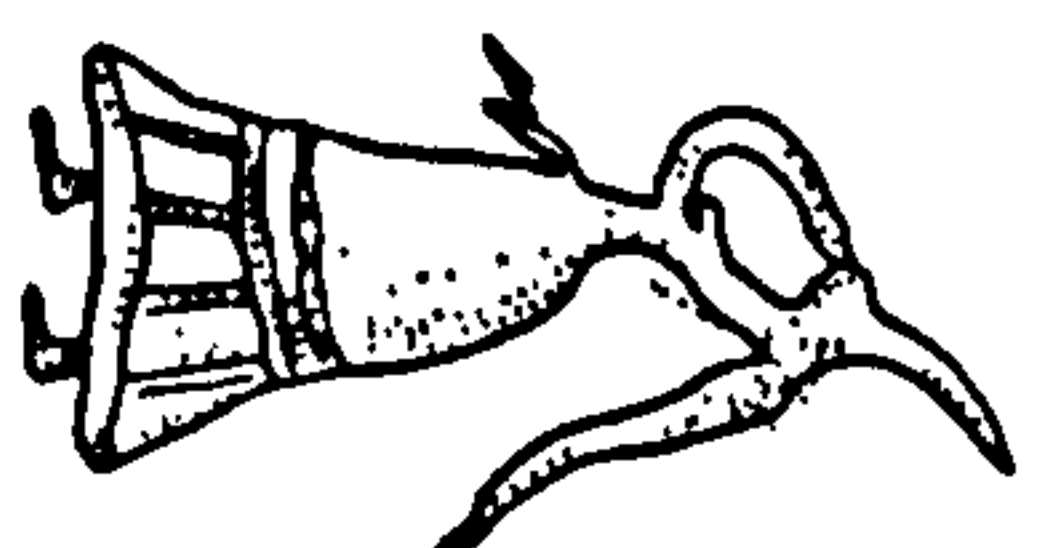
	XXVI
	XXVII
	XXVIII
	XXIX
	XXX
	XXXI
	XXXII
	XXXIII
	XXXIV
	XXXV

XXVI:MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901,fig 58,184. XXVII:MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901,fig 58,184. XXVIII:MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901,fig 57,183.  
 XXIX:MYCENAE RA 1900,p1 viii. XXX:MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901,fig 56,182. XXXI:MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901,fig 53,177. XXXII:MYCENAE  
 RA 1900,p1 viii. XXXIII:MYCENAE JHS XXI 1901,fig 53,177. XXXIV:ISOPATA JHS XLV 1925,fig 51,58. XXXV:ISOPATA JHS XLV 1925,  
 fig 51,58.

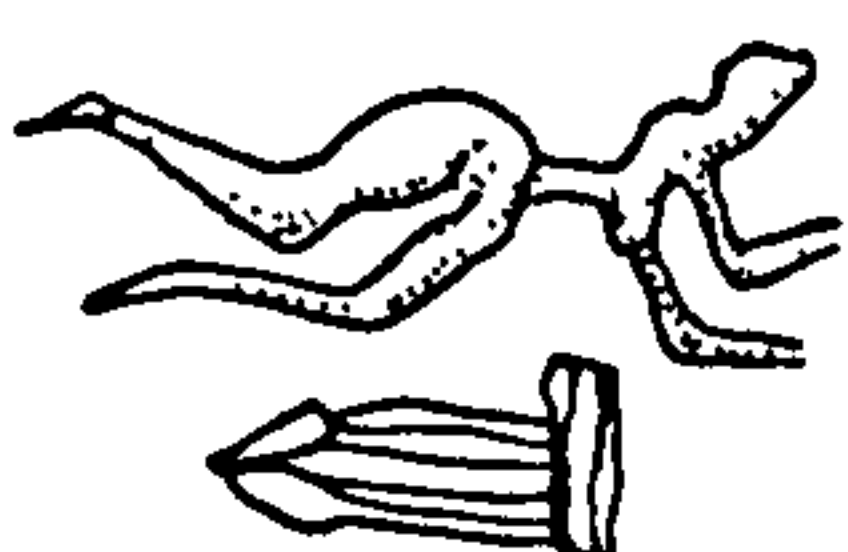
TABLE . 37 : NEO-PALATIAL FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN GLYPHIC



XXXVI



XXXVII



XXXVIII

XXXVI:NEW YORK CMS XII,NO 168,256. XXXVII:NEW YORK CMS XII,NO 168,256. XXXVIII:PHAISTOS Mon.Ant XIV,fig 50,pl XL,577.



TYPES AND GESTURE FOR THE PRE-PALATIAL PERIOD

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NATURALISTIC													
AA	(b)	(f)											
BB		(f)											
CC			(d)	(b)									
DD				(b)									
EE			(d)	(c)									
FF			(?a)										
GGI			(d)	(c)									
GGII			(d)										
HH													
SCHEMATIC													
A	(c)												
B													
C													
D													
E													
FI	(b)												
FII										✓			
GI													
GII													
GIII													
H													
I			(d)										
JI	(a)												
JII	(a)												
JIII	(a)												
JIV	(a)												
JV	(a)												
JVI	(a)												
JVII	(a)												
	74% ↔	25.5% ←						0.5%	OTHERS				

(1a=63.5% of  
TOTAL 1)

PERCENTAGES OF BEST REPRESENTED GESTURE TYPES IN TOTAL SAMPLE  
FOR PRE-PALATIAL PERIOD

### The Proto-palatial Period

During the Proto-palatial period gestures assumed a new importance and significance indicated by their variety of types and their execution. This may have been due either to an increase of technical competence and/or a shift in attitude and function of the figurines. Type 1, most common in the Pre-palatial period disappears altogether and Type 2(f) appears only once on a male figurine from the tomb of Porti (No. 35 of Type BB2). Male and female figurines studied and presented here revealed an equal range of gesture types with some more typical of one sex than another and others showing great overlap. Type 2 for instance, although more commonly associated with male types is well represented amongst the female group but with variations. The male figurines revealed that the hands rested predominantly on the chest (a), met in the centre (b) or rested at the side of the chest (c), whereas female figurines tended to hold their hands below their breasts (d, h) or to the side of them (c). A far greater proportion of female figurines, however, held their arms forwards in front of their bodies, either straight (4a), bent at the elbow with forearms tilting up (4b) or curved round in front of the breasts horizontally or inclining upwards and touching at chin level (4b, c respectively): this contrasts markedly with the male types where only one example of one Type (AA2II) revealed the arms curved round to the front. Female types revealed three further gestures not accounted for in any male figurines to date: Type 7 characterized by one arm crossed over the chest and shoulder with the other arm round the waist; Type 9 with both arms covering the chest and the hands held to the chin and Type 11 which is characterized by both arms being bent at the elbow and hands held on the hips. The male

figurines produced two gesture types not witnessed amongst female types: Type 5 with one arm held to the chest and the other held down by the side of the body (No. 95 DD2.*II* from Petsophas) and Type 12 characterized by one arm with the elbow raised and held up towards the head, and the other curved round and inclining downwards (No. 38 of Type DD2.*I* from Juktas; No. 185 of Type AA3 from Chamaizi - this latter example is thought to be an hermaphrodite however).

The most commonly found gestures during the Proto-palatial period however, are types 2 and 3 and their variations and were found on a large number of sites and covering all the sexes. They are characteristic of figurines found on peak sanctuaries with no examples found in settlements or caves to date. Gesture Type 7 although represented by a number of examples was restricted largely to one site - Piskokephalo, and characteristic of female figurines; Type 4 although found on a number of different sites was again restricted almost entirely to female types. The distribution of gestures from site to site, but more particularly from one gender to another may be indicative of their symbolic roles. Alternatively the site variation may denote local preference or even references to local rituals.

For gesture Type 2 (c) and (d), more common amongst female figurines (as in No. 101 of Type NN2.*I* and Nos. 116, 117, 120 of Type TT2.*I* and *IV*) a parallel may be found on a gold-plated silver ring from Mycenae<sup>133</sup> which depicts three worshippers approaching an altar surmounted by horns of consecration. One of these figures standing erect and wearing a bell-shaped skirt and with large apparently exposed breasts, has her right arm (at least) placed just below her

breasts (Table 34, (xxvi)). A sealing from the Zakros<sup>134</sup> hoard depicts a female figurine dressed in the same type of bell-shaped skirt and has both her arms bent at the elbow and extended to her breast at different angles, with the left slightly higher (Table 33, (xxiii)). She stands next to a figure wearing a cap and what could be a long mantle from neck to feet. The former example is our best evidence to suggest that this gesture signifies worship of, or reference to a divinity at the time of prayer before an altar; whereas the second example is not so explicit. On peak sanctuaries where this type of gesture is most commonly found we have already seen the evidence for altars, emphasising that such figurines do indeed represent the worshippers attending the ceremony and are left as offerings to remind the divinity of their needs.

Gesture Type 4(b) characterized by the arms held out in front of the body with the forearms tilted upwards is also associated with female figurines located on peak sanctuaries as seen in Types JJ2.I and II and NN2.II (No. 97 from Petsopha, No. 40 from Juktas and No. 153 from Prinias, respectively), though we possibly have one more example from the Palace of Zakros. A parallel to this gesture is afforded by a figure depicted on a seal impression from Agia Triadha.<sup>135</sup> On the impression she stands erect with incurved back before a construction resembling a table (altar?) with a garland hanging from it and surmounted by what could be horns of consecration. She wears the Minoan flounced skirt and her arms are outstretched in front of her with the forearms tilted upwards in front of her face (Table 33, (xviii)). On the gold-plated silver ring from Mycenae<sup>136</sup> mentioned above another figure stands before the altar with her arm similarly placed with forearms tilting upwards in front of her face



(Table 34, (xxviii)). A seal impression from Phaistos<sup>137</sup> depicting a similar gesture reveals a figure apparently dancing before an altar or table (Table 35, (xxxviii)). Here the back is incurved and the head thrown back whilst both legs are bent forwards with the buttocks protruding and the waist is sharply drawn in. This is important in that it reveals the gesture was possibly used in 'dancing' as well as in more formal worship, both possibly representing expressions of the same rituals. The fact that figures in these examples are seen to be standing before altar-like constructions highlights the religious significance of the gesture.

When discussing 'posture' it was brought to light that a small group of figurines appeared to depict a sense of 'movement' suggestive of dancing. This was achieved in the modelling of the lower halves whilst their torsos remained more 'static' depicting the more formal attitudes of worship (e.g. 2(h) and 3(d) and Type 6(a)(iii) and (c) for the bronze figurines of the Neo-palatial period). A female figurine from Prinias (No. 6063 of Type NN2.I) suggests this same sense of movement or dance but this time in the gesture, whilst retaining a more static lower half. A smaller example of a bronze female (No. HM.1417 of Type UU4) from Palaikastro provides us with another example. In glyptic parallels have been found: on a seal impression from Agia Triadha<sup>138</sup> a female figure is depicted with her hands about her hips (Table 33, (xvi)): she wears a long bell-shaped skirt, her breasts are apparently exposed and her head inclined forwards. She is the central and larger figure of a scene depicting a group of three dancing women beside a construction consisting of two pillars joined by a double cornice from which a tree rises: this is thought to represent a sacred enclosure or temple or

shrine. Peak sanctuaries in particular revealed evidence of an enclosed temenos area and/or paving which may well have provided the space necessary for the kind of dance ritual that is suggested both in the figurines and the figural representations in glyptic.<sup>139</sup> A similar dancing woman is visible on a gold signet ring from Mycenae (Table 34, (xxxiii)):<sup>140</sup> she too has her hands about her hips, wears the traditional Minoan flounced skirt with her breasts remaining exposed.

It has already been mentioned that Gesture Type 7, characterized by one arm crossed over the chest to the opposite shoulder with the other arm placed round the waist is most commonly found on female figurines from Piskokephalo of Type TT2.*I* and *II*. A similar though not exact parallel has been found on a LMIB seal impression now in the Ashmolean Museum (Table 33, (xxiv)).<sup>141</sup> Here the figure shows one arm crossed over the chest to the opposite shoulder although the other arm is outstretched and is portrayed as being 'in movement' suggested by the protruding buttocks and S-line profile of the body whilst the head is inclined forwards.

The majority of figures in glyptic are females and are seen with a variety of postures and gesture. Male figures are far less numerous and when they appear are far more rigid in their presentation. This is in contrast to figurines in the round where in the Proto-palatial period they reveal as great a variation in gesture types as the female group, though it must be conceded that most of these represent the more formal and static attitudes. No. 38 of Type DD2.*I* from Juktas is one exception: here one arm is held up towards the head with elbow raised and the other is curved round and inclines downwards. Another No. *JI* from Juktas of Type AA2.*II* reveals the

arms to be curved round to the front. The remainder either have both (Type 2) or one (Type 5) arm(s) held to chest or one (Type 7) or both crossed over it (Type 8). Parallels in glyptic are few: on a seal impression from Knossos,<sup>142</sup> a young male is depicted standing erect with incurved back and arms bent at the elbow and held to the chest with clenched fists (Type 2(a). (Table 32, fig. (x)). In his fists however he holds two cords which cross the necks of two very large seated hounds. The sacred character of this scene if indeed there is any, can only be speculated: the hounds stand in the same heraldic position that the so-called 'mistress of animals' is seen between her guardian lions on Late Minoan seals. On a seal impression from Zakros<sup>143</sup> a female stands before a seated dog with raised front legs. On a gold signet ring from Phaistos<sup>144</sup> a dog and a female figure stand before a large female figure. Combined with the evidence of this gesture in figures in the round and the latters' location in sanctuaries it would certainly appear to be a sacred one and in addition a gesture representing worship.

A more commonly represented gesture of males in glyptic is one in which only one arm is held to the chest and the other is outstretched in front of the body. A seal impression from Agia Triadha<sup>145</sup> depicts such a figure and is probably male (Table 32, (viii)). Here the arm that is held forward holds a funnel-shaped vessel (rhyton) and stands before a female seated figure of much larger proportions than himself who appears to receive the vessel. On a ring from Mycenae<sup>146</sup> another male figure stands erect with incurved back in front of a larger seated female figure: the right arm is held to the chest whilst the left arm is held forward and touches the hand of the seated figure (Table 32, (xiii)). A male figure on a ring

from Isopata<sup>147</sup> stands with one arm (at least) held to the chest, though in this case it is the left arm (Table 32, (xiv)). No. 95 of Type DD2.II from Petsophas depicts a male with one arm held to the chest and the other held down by the side of the body and is perhaps the closest parallel we have, in the round, to this gesture. The latter appears to combine the act of worship (arm held to chest) with an act of possible 'offering' (arm held in front of body). Many figurines were found with broken-off arms so the possibility that they were once moulded outstretched as in the representations should not be disregarded. X

The recently discovered seal impression from Kastelli Krania,<sup>148</sup> sheds interesting new light on this particular gesture and is seen on a male figure. The figure stands erect with incurved back with his left arm bent and held to his chest and his right arm held out in front of him holding a staff or spear pointing downwards in his hand (Table 32, (xi)). He stands on a large-scale building complex on a rocky landscape close to the sea, which is surmounted by possible horns of consecration. In form, posture, gesture and dress he differs little from other representations of the Minoan male but the religious affinities within the scene cannot be ignored, combined with the similarity of this scene to that of the seal impression from Knossos where a female figure stands on top of a mountain with her left arm held outstretched before her (Table 33, (xxi)), holding a staff and backed by a possible religious building. However, the interpretation of both these figures could be argued effectively as representing either important persons or divinities. If we regard both scenes as depicting particular rituals at the very least, whatever the precise status of the figures themselves, the gestures must be important aspects of those rituals.



### Summary

The gestures of male figurines during the Proto-palatial period are more formal, emphasised by their more rigid and static appearance and confirmed by analogy with figural representation in glyptic. Although exceptions have been noted, they do not appear to be the rule and remain unique examples in so far as the evidence allows us to say, to date. Female figurines portray a more lively variety of gestures but include some of the more static and formal types, often superimposed onto lower halves that suggest a 'dancing' movement. This strongly indicates that worship and dance were expressive of the same rituals and beliefs, and this is largely confirmed by figural representations in glyptic. Here females predominate and in the majority of cases they are seen to be dancing and/or worshipping before structures of religious significance whether these are altars or shrines and sometimes within an enclosed area. The difference in the 'attitudes' of the figures from one gender group to another suggests that their role was different in that society. In the case of females (and perhaps those representing hermaphrodites) their more 'active' part as suggested by the gestures may indicate that they were the central and key participants of the religious rituals. The males, conversely, although devout worshippers, performed a more static role beside their female partners. Whether this was a secondary role to the female or merely different, is difficult to determine. Likewise it is difficult to say whether the gestures depicted on females represent actions additional to, or going beyond the worship and adoration seen in the male gestures, even if both are still within the religious sphere..



526

TABLE 39

TYPES AND GESTURES FOR THE PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD (cont.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
HERMAPHRODITE															
AA3												✓			
BB3			(a)												
CC3				(c)											
DD3		(b)													
EE3															
UNKNOWN															
FF3			(c)												
GG3I				(c)											
GG3II															
HH3		(b)													
II3					(?/)										
JJ3		(g)													
KK3		(h)													
LL3															
NN3															
PP3				(c)		✓									
QQ3I			(d)												
QQ3II				(?c)											

PERCENTAGES OF BEST REPRESENTED GESTURES TYPES IN TOTAL SAMPLE FOR

PROTO-PALATIAL PERIOD

31.5%

25.5%

(2a=22.5%

of TOTAL

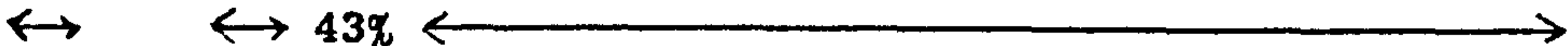
GESTURE 2)

(4c=45%

of TOTAL

GESTURE 4)

TOTAL OF REMAINDER 43%



### The Neo-palatial Period

The appearance of a new gesture, that becomes characteristic of this period is the most notable feature here. This gesture is more commonly referred to as the 'saluting' gesture because of its position with the right arm held to the forehead and the elbow raised, and the left arm held down by the side, and is common to both males and females.

Of the six male figurine types, five types included examples with bronze figurines carrying this gesture. Only one figurine from Zakros of Type AA4 made of clay showed the more common Type 2 gesture with both arms held to the breasts: this figurine, however, is of uncertain context and date and may belong to the preceding period. What is noteworthy is that few other types of gesture have been identified from this period within the male group.

The female figurines, conversely, revealed the same number of different gesture types to the preceding period, although new ones are included within this. Gesture Type A continues to remain the most popular gesture, whilst Types 7 and 9 disappear. New gestures include Type 6, as in the male group above, and Type 13 where both arms are held out horizontally in front with forearms held to the forehead and hands covering the face. Of the unknown sex group Types 2, 3 and 6 are represented. ?

Representations of males on seals and rings are few in any period, as already demonstrated. There is however one striking parallel for the male figure with Gesture Type 6, the saluting gesture, on a seal impression from Knossos.<sup>149</sup> He stands erect with incurved back before a small female figure who stands on an apparent mountain top guarded by lions on either side. Behind her is an altar like construc-



tion or sanctuary with two tiers of horns of consecration. The female figure has one arm stretched out in front towards the male and one arm to her waist. Whoever the female figure is supposed to represent, it is clear that the male figure is meant to be seen as paying his respect to her, standing in reverence of her, or perhaps worshipping her (Table 38, (xi)). Because this gesture is so well represented on bronze figurines of the Neo-palatial period, in caves (Psychro), settlements (Agia Triadha) and even peak sanctuaries (Kophinas and Juktas) it is highly likely that it is symbolic of the same kind of ritual worship represented by Gesture Types 2 or 5 in the preceding period. Elements and traditions in a religion are bound to change and evolve with the passage of time, just as fashion does, which this gesture must also symbolize, in its position in the art of Minoan small sculpture.

Of the female figural representations depicting this same gesture there are possible parallels: on the gold-plated silver ring from Mycenae<sup>150</sup> the middle figure of three has her left arm raised to her forehead as if saluting, and stands before an altar (Table 40, (xxvii)). A seal impression of unknown provenance<sup>151</sup> depicts two female figures of which one appears to have her right arm raised to her forehead (Table 41, (xxxvii)). The former example at least, suggests that this gesture was a traditional symbol of worship and/or adoration.

The most notable female figurines of the Neo-palatial period in terms of technical competence and decoration are undoubtedly the faience figures of Type WW4 found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos. In *KN1*, the larger figure, both arms are held forwards straight in front of the body and inclined downwards (4(a)) and in

*KN2*, the arms are outstretched sideways with forearms tilted up (3(b)). Figural representations comparable with these are hard to find. A seal impression from Agia Triadha<sup>152</sup> depicts two women apparently dancing around a tree: both have their upper arms outstretched with their forearms bent upwards at the elbow in a similar manner to *KN2*, though not identical (Table 39, (xvi) and Table 40, (xxxv) from Isopata). Although the sense of movement in the figures on the seal impression is much greater there is no reason to exclude the possibility that the gesture of the figurine from Knossos is symbolic of a similar dance ritual.<sup>153</sup> The gesture of *KN1*, with outstretched arms and palms facing upwards seems more representative of one in the act of 'offering' or 'receiving'. This has parallels in glyptic though usually only one hand is seen to be held forwards. On a gold signet ring from Mycenae,<sup>154</sup> for example, a female figure with a flounced skirt and exposed breasts depicts such a gesture: she appears to be offering gifts to a seated figure. On a seal impression from Agia Triadha<sup>155</sup> a seated female figure holds her right hand forwards (Table 39, (xx)) to receive a rhyton vessel offered by a standing male figure. Ritual acts involving a process whereby gifts are offered and received are common features of many religions.<sup>156</sup> That a votive figurine, a gift offered in itself, should be depicted with a gesture suggestive of offering or receiving therefore is a natural consequence. This is particularly evident if one accepts the view that the figurines represented the individuals who took part in the ritual acts, and further confirmed by the associated contents of the repositories: these included faience robes, fish and shells as well as cups and vases. The uniqueness of the figurines from Knossos may be attributed to the fact that they belonged to a central Palace shrine and repre-

sented the height of the Minoan artistic achievement in small sculpture.<sup>157</sup> The status held, if any, by the individuals who took part in the religious rituals more generally, is more difficult to determine: what is more certain is that they were predominantly, if not all, female..

From Agia Triadha the clay figurines found in the West Wing of the Villa are noteworthy for their gestures, if nothing else. Three, Nos. *AT1*, *AT2* and *AT3* of Type QQ4, depict crudely modelled, bell-shaped bodies and oval, almost featureless heads. Their arms, however, are disproportionately large in comparison to their bodies and although crudely formed and flattened, curve round to the front (4(c)) or are held out and bent up at the elbow with fore-arms tilting upwards (- and hence a cruder version of what we have already examined). The obvious emphasis on the arms reflected in their size and attitude is surely indicative of the degree of significance they were meant to hold, despite the fact that these figurines were found in a storeroom with no religious associations in evidence. No. 183 of Type NN4 from Agia Triadha is more unusual: here a well-formed seated female figure is revealed, with rounded hips and large breasts (apparently naked). Her static posture is in marked contrast to her animated gesture: the latter revealing both arms curved round to the front, with the right forearm tilted upwards and the left forearm held in front of the body horizontally. A similar, but not exact, parallel can be seen on a gold signet ring from Mycenae<sup>158</sup> where a seated female figure is depicted: her left arm is apparently held to just below her breasts whilst her right arm is extended forwards with the forearm tilted upwards and clasped in her hand are three poppies(?) (Table 40, (xxxii)). The presence of a large double axe on this gold ring, the tree,



the sun and moon and the approaching figures evidently bringing offerings to the seated figure have led to the belief that the latter is representative of a seated goddess. Although this may well be a ritual scene, given the attributes, and the seated figure who may represent a woman of high status (perhaps a priestess who has assumed the powers of a divinity or an envisaged divinity who is the product of an ecstatic epiphany) I see less justification for her interpretation as a goddess. Likewise the seated figure from Agia Triadha may be no more than a votive offering and personal possession, even if it is symbolic of a well-practiced ritual, more than familiar to the person to whom it belonged and perhaps represented.

The importance of the evidence for gestures in the Neo-palatial period is that it reveals not only the introduction of a new gesture common to both male and female figurines (Type 6) but that the male figurines have this gesture and no other. Within this there were variations: the left arm could be held down by the side loosely ((i) as in Type CC4I), taut ((ii) BB4, CC4 and DD4) or bent ((iii) CC4II) to the hip/side. The right arm could be held on the forehead ((a)) or covering the eyes ((b) as seen in No. HM438 of Type UU4). On one example from Agia Triadha (No. HM761 of Type RR4) a female figurine is depicted with both her hands covering her face and her head inclined forwards into them. Within the male group there are exceptions to Gesture Type 6, but also made of bronze: a slender bronze male from Katsambas has both arms curved round to the front of his chest and away from the body in a loop, and a figure from the Phaistos area (No. I.1904-2 of Type CC4.I) has his muscular arms bent at the elbows but held close to his body covering his



chest with the forearms bent upwards towards his face (Gesture Type 9). There are no parallels in glyptic to these gestures and even within the figurines of this period they remain isolated examples of their type groups.

### Summary

The variety of gesture within and between the gender groups and from one period to another cannot easily be ignored and is indicative of their significance. Figural representations in glyptic confirm this view and help demonstrate the differences between male and female gesture types. During the Pre-palatial period figurines were seen to be either female or of an unknown sex and the predominant gestures were Type 1(a), (b), (c) and Type 2 (e), (f). What characterized these gestures was their static and formal appearance, giving a sense of 'immobility' or being 'at rest'. Whilst this may have been due to technical competence and/or fashion in the development of the artistic tradition of miniature sculpture, it also represented the purpose for which these figures were made: namely votive objects used in life and at times of death offered to a divinity who cared for the well being of the living and the world that contained them. Hence their arms were extended to their chests or folded across their waists: both devotional expressions suitable for times of life, sickness and death. Why they were selected for certain individuals and not others is more difficult to determine except for their possible representation as symbols of status, and in this respect their gestures tell us little.

During the Proto-palatial period gestures assume an importance and significance not met with in the previous period where form was as, or more important, than gesture. Moreover Gesture Type 1, most common in the Pre-palatial period disappears, and Type 2(f) appears only once on a male figurine from Porti. Both male and female figurines revealed a range of seven different gesture types,

some common to one or other of the sex groups and some common to both. With a few exceptions noted, the gestures of male figurines during the Proto-palatial period were more formal and static and this was confirmed by analogy with figural representations: here their appearance was not only more rigid than the females but they were seldom represented at all. When represented their gestures more commonly signified worship and/or adoration.

The female figurines of this period showed a more lively variety of gestures, even if the total range was the same. These included attitudes of more formal worship similar to male figurines, attitudes of more formal worship superimposed onto lower halves where a sense of movement was suggested and, finally, animated gestures representing some kind of dancing movement superimposed onto more static lower halves. This evidence strongly indicated that dance and worship were expressive of the same ritual acts and beliefs.

Figural representations in glyptic were predominantly female and in most cases, particularly those contemporary with the later part of Minoan Society (MMIII-LMI),<sup>159</sup> were seen to be dancing and/or worshipping with or in front of other female figures and beside altar- and/or temple-like structures or enclosures. Attributes, where evident, contributed to their interpretation as cult scenes, and where parallels were found in gesture their religious nature was better confirmed. What each gesture signified other than worship and/or dance of one kind or another is more difficult to determine. The possible interpretation of one gesture as 'invocation', another as 'adoration' and another as the 'epiphany',<sup>160</sup> necessitate various assumptions as to the nature of the religion and the identification of a goddess in the glyptic scenes and amongst figurines

(even if we allow for some progress in that direction). For the figurines their votive intent has already been stressed. What is evident, is that females predominated in the religious rituals in a more 'active' capacity than the males, though whether these represented actions additional to or beyond the worship and adoration seen in male gestures, is not possible to say.

Figurines of the Neo-palatial period emphasise these divided roles more coherently in that the male figurines became not only more rigid in appearance but are characterized by the predominance of one gesture - Type 6 - or the 'saluting' gesture, whereas the female figurines continue to display a more active variety of gestures, even if those include Gesture Type 6; and where this appears the lower half of the figurine is often suggestive of a continued sense of movement. It should not be assumed, however, from this evidence that the role of the male as reflected in the figurines was inferior to that performed by females in religious rituals or in the society that produced them. What it may signify is that they took part in religious rituals in a different capacity even if of a more static nature, but that, whatever their differences, the aims of the two groups were ultimately the same: namely to ensure their well-being and that of the world of nature that contained, fed and in the end, destroyed them.



TYPES AND GESTURES FOR THE NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
MALES															
AA4		(?c)													
BB4						(a11)									
CC4I						(a1) (a11)									
CC4II						(a111)									
DD4						(a11)									
EE4															
FF4															
FEMALES															
GG4		(?b)													
HH4		(d)													
II4				(f)											
JJ4								(a)							
KK4															
LL4		(c)													
NN4				(e)											
PP4				(c)											
QQ4				(b) (c)											
RR4						(a111) (c)							✓		
SS4				(e)											
TT4						(a1) (a11)									
UU4						(b11)					✓				
VV4		(f)													
WW4			(b)	(a)											
UNKNOWN															
AA5			?/												
BB5			(d)												
CC5		(h)													
DD5		(a)													
EE5						(a11)									
FF5															
PERCENTAGES OF BEST REPRESENTED GESTURE TYPE(S) IN TOTAL SAMPLE FOR NEO-PALATIAL PERIOD															
← 38% →					← 56% →					← 6% →					

TABLE 41

GESTURE: A SUMMARY

PERIOD	GESTURE TYPE	%	SEX	MEANING
PRE-PALATIAL	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">1(a), (b), (c)</span>	74%	Female/Unknown	Death (the deceased) Adoration/ Worship Offering
	2(f)		Female	
	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">3(d)</span>	15%	Female/Unknown	
	4(b)+(c)+(d)		Female/Unknown	
	10		Female	
PROTO-PALATIAL	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">2(a), (b), (c), (d), (f)</span>	31.5%	Male/Female	Adoration/ Worship  Offering  Ritual action (dancing)
	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">(g), (h), (i)</span>		Herms./Unknown	
	3(a), (c), (d)			
	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">4(a), (b), (c), (d)</span>	25.5%	Female/Herm./Unknown (male)	
	5(a.1)		Male/Unknown	
	7		Female/Unknown	
	8(b), (c)		Male/Female	
	9		Female	
	11		Female	
	12		Male/Herms.	
	14, 15			
NEO-PALATIAL	2(a), (b), (c), (d), (f)		Male/Female/Unknown	Adoration/ Worship  Offering  (lament?) Ritual action (dancing)
	(h)			
	3(b), (d)		Female/Unknown	
	4(a), (b), (c), (e), (f)		Female	
	5(a)			
	<span style="border: 1px solid black;">6(ai, ii, iii) (bi) (c)</span>	56%	Male/Female/Unknown	
	8(a)		Female	
	11		Female	
	13		Female	

 = best represented

## 2(d) Dress and Adornments

Dress and Adornments constitute the third of three attributes in their hierarchy of importance. They provide, however, the means of creating individuality in the figurines which might otherwise be absent in the modelling of their more basic forms. Thus they constitute an important addition in the identification and differentiation of individual worshippers.

This aspect of the figurines has not gone unnoticed in the part. *S* Evans, in *The Palace of Minos*,<sup>161</sup> made continued references to Minoan costume from one period to the next as it presented itself on figurines, frescoes, seals, gems and relief vases. Myres included a detailed description of male and female dress as it was seen on the figurines from Petsopha<sup>162</sup> with an additional section on 'Aegean Women's Dress and its affinities',<sup>163</sup> to supply the evidence for its history. Platon,<sup>164</sup> in his report on Piskokephalo, refers to the standard type of male and female dress in his description of the figurines. Glotz,<sup>165</sup> in 'The Aegean Civilization' includes a short section on 'dress and adornment' with particular attention to Minoan dress as seen in a variety of representations. He sees little diversity in men's costume but instead an 'extraordinary' variety in female dress. This opinion is also held by Davaras in 'Guide to Cretan Antiquities' where he distinguishes, in his brief account of 'Minoan Dress' between the more 'basic' garment of the Minoan male and the 'highly sophisticated and gorgeous dress of the Minoan woman'.<sup>166</sup> This is certainly seen in the evidence, where it is readily apparent that the female in Minoan art became the focus of the artists' attention. On her were lavished all the efforts and techniques in miniature sculpture and contemporary iconography

best exemplified by the faience figurines<sup>167</sup> from Knossos and the 'Sacred Grove and Dance',<sup>168</sup> fresco from Knossos.

An excellent and extensive survey of male and female dress on bronze figurines is presented by Colette Verlinden,<sup>169</sup> who discusses in detail each aspect of the fuller costume in individual sections. Davaras has paid much attention to male dress in all its forms on bronze figurines, seeing its importance as part of the Minoan culture, and now characteristic of that culture.<sup>170</sup> The best and most extensive study on the male Minoan kilt and codpiece however is Efi Sakellorakis' ΜΙΝΩΙΚΟΝ ΖΩΜΑ. Here she discusses male dress as it is seen on whole figures,<sup>171</sup> relief figures,<sup>172</sup> frescoes<sup>173</sup> and finally seals and sealings.<sup>174</sup> She identifies ten separate types of male costume ranging from the most commonly represented belt and codpiece attachment (Type A<sup>1</sup>)<sup>175</sup> to the girdle made from animal hide (Type I<sup>1</sup>).<sup>176</sup> In addition she traces the development of each type through the Pre-, Proto-, Neo- and post-palatial periods in all their various manifestations, each one amply illustrated both in its method of construction and in its finished appearance. Male figurines in the round, (or 'whole figures') revealed less variation in dress than the total sample which included relief figures, figures on frescoes and seals. This may be due, in part, to the fact that many details were apparently painted on and little has survived on the figurines to provide us with a large repertoire today. Nevertheless it is still possible to identify a number of different methods of dress on the male forms, as we shall see. Dress and adornments are a superficial attribute but do, finally, contribute to his or her identification as an individual in that society and help characterize him or her as fundamentally Minoan.



### The Pre-palatial Period

The first attempt at defining dress is realized in the female naturalistic figurines of the Pre-palatial period.<sup>177</sup> Here their crudely carved bell-shaped lower halves, seen to represent skirts or dresses, help identify their female character, where it is not otherwise apparent. No. 8 of Type AA from Agia Triadha (Pl.26) for example, carved from striated 'alabaster', consists of a rectangular block with slight incurving on either side at the waist before descending almost vertically onto a flat base. No. 10, (Pl. 28) of ivory, depicts more clearly a bell-shaped dress extending to the ground and surmounted by a cape or cloak on her upper half; No. 9 (Pl. 27) has a band carved round the bottom edge of the ivory skirt and No. 32 from Platanos (Pl. 29) retains a V-shaped opening round the neck and a double band round the base of the dress. Of Type BB, No. 20 from Koumasa (Pl. 30) of ivory, depicts a bell-shaped skirt or dress extending to the ground with a short jacket (?) on top rising to a peaked collar at the back of the neck. This example undoubtedly represents the beginning of a tradition that was developed and became one of the most characteristic female costumes in the succeeding period.<sup>178</sup> The example from Gournes of this type (Fig.27c) carries this tradition a step further in its retention of painted decoration: around the waist and neck is a thin white band and on the open bowl-shaped hat,<sup>179</sup> extending up from the head are white painted diagonal bands, all on a dark background. No. 25 of Type DD from Koumasa (Fig.24) displays a fragment of an open bowl-shaped hat and wears a garment with a high, thick collar extending round the back of the neck and open in front. No. 26 of Type EE (Pl. 34) whilst revealing the same type of dress rising at the back of the neck into a thick collar, retains

a more rounded hat on the back of the head with a rib down its centre and a thick band round the edge. The importance of these examples is not only in their representation of the first forms of Minoan dress but the link it provides with the succeeding period where more developed versions appear in their hundreds on the peak sanctuaries. In addition it is noteworthy that it is the female who displays the first form of dress whilst the males remain conspicuous by their absence, and the fact that such naturalistic forms as these constitute only a small proportion of a larger schematic group of figurines where 'dress' plays no part.

#### The Proto-palatial Period

(a) Females: Naturalistic figurines during the Proto-palatial period constitute the majority that have been found. Within these, the bell-shaped lower half now characteristic of the Minoan female<sup>180</sup> is found in a variety of forms and made of clay. It may be a hollow wheel-made structure or pulled in at the sides making it wider and flatter or moulded in different ways to form pleats or create a wavy contour across its front to denote movement. No. 97 of Type JJ2.I (Pl. 79) represents the wheel-made skirt and is normally associated with examples from Petsopha though there we have similar representations from the peak sanctuary sites of Maza, Xerokampos and Juktas (Pls. 77, 78; Fig. 45 ). This type of skirt stands in marked contrast to that represented on example No. 187 from Chamaizi of Type PP2 where the skirt is hardly flared at all, and the waist not drawn in (see Pl. 84): on each side the skirt has been pulled in producing a long thin pleat down its length and has a flattened front and convex back. In examples Nos. 85, 102, 103 of Type QQ2 although the sides of the skirt are similarly pulled out to form thick pleats the

front is gently pushed in leaving either one depression in the centre of the skirt or two with the middle drawn outwards (see pls. 85-88). The back of the skirt is very rounded emphasising the protrusion by pulling in the waist: the overall effect is one of 'movement'.

Isolated fragments and whole representations of skirts and/or dresses have been found in the Proto-palatial period: they have been broken off from their upper halves or separated in some other way. These have been allocated to Type YY and discussed in Part III chapter 9. No. 168 of Type YY2.III from Traostalos (Fig 60) represents a wide and hollow bell-shaped skirt which, like the examples above, has been pulled in at the sides. Here, however, a triple pleat has been formed and the front and back are symmetrically rounded. No. 123 of Type YY2.I from Piskokephalo (Pl.101) also depicts a triple pleat but here the back of the skirt is flat whilst the front retains a rounded profile. The latter is represented by many examples which together with its regularity in form and solid nature may suggest that it was mould-made, although no such moulds have been found to date. A greater majority of skirts, however, are moulded by hand some more crudely than others, as seen in No. 155 from Prinias of Type YY2.II (Pl.10.3a) which represents a long almost oblong and solid skirt, slightly flaring at the base with a long diagonal fold across its front and carrying light incisions down its length. Pleats appear to constitute an important and variable aspect of skirts. We have already seen single and triple pleats carried at the sides: from Prinias one skirt is seen to have four vertical pleats running down the length of the skirt in front and rendered by applying narrow strips of clay. Another example



from the same site depicts three pleats formed by pulling out the clay into long fine ridges vertically down the skirt (pls. 103 and figs. 59

The majority of female figurines from the Proto-Palatial period reveal exposed breasts: this feature may be rendered by means of an open-fronted, short-sleeved jacket or bodice or by indicating no form of dress on the upper half of the body. (Pls. 70-100.) The examples of Type JJ2.I and II depict the former, which is characterized by its high peaked collar at the back of the neck<sup>181</sup> (Pls. 77-79) curving upwards or projecting outwards and backwards, and seen in an early stage of development in the preceding period (Pl. 31-32). The example of Type LL2 reveals a cruder and more faint attempt at a small (Pl. 82) peaked collar creeping up the back of the neck vertically, whereas Nos. 103 and 104 of Type QQ2 (Pls. 88 - 89) display an exaggerated collar that projects out horizontally from the back of the neck. Three examples of Type TT2IV, Nos. , 120, 121 and 122 from Piskokephalo wear long-sleeved jackets with wide and deep V-shaped openings in front only, exposing the edges of the breasts (Pls. 93 & 95-97). Types NN2.I and II, however, constituting one of the major type groups show no evidence of bodices and/or jackets with or without peaked collars, as indeed PP2, RR2 and the largest type group represented by TT2.I-III (Pls. 83-85 and 90-94) No. 225 of Type XX2 from Phaistos is not only unique for its painted decoration but is instructive in terms of dress (Pl. 101. Fig. 57 ). Onto the torso has been painted a short-sleeved red jacket open at the front and leaving the breasts exposed. The exposed area of the body is painted white with red straps painted across and round the breasts and a red necklace with bluish-grey pendants hanging from it



in front, whilst at the base of the torso are traces of black paint. No. 97 from Petsopha of Type JJ2.I (Pl. 78) revealed on the skirt a black-painted background with white diagonal lines in sets of three set in alternate directions across it, and a white horizontal band around the bottom edge. The torso of the latter was also black, with a white band just below the breasts. The face, although painted white, retains traces of black paint for the eyes and eyebrows. Unfortunately the majority of figurines have not retained their painted decoration but one might imagine that they were once brightly decorated.

Where this part survives female figurines wear a variety of thick, and double belts round their waists tied at the side or in the centre serving a decorative and a functional purpose. Whilst we must imagine that they constituted an important accessory to the overall appearance,<sup>182</sup> belts also helped disguise the juncture of the torso and lower half in the figurines construction.<sup>183</sup> It has already been pointed out that these figurines were made in two parts at the end of which the torso was inserted into the lower half, and the clay sometimes smoothed over the latter part: belts then helped to hide these junctures as did the peaked collar for the join of head and torso. No. 162 of Type NN2.I from Traostalos (Fig 48) wears a thick belt that hangs down the left side of the body in a loop without being tied; No. 100 from Petsopha (Pl. 83) wears a thick double belt that ties in front and hangs down the centre of the skirt. The example from Chamaizi, however, of Type PP2 reveals a wide band round the waist carefully modelled at the top of the skirt (Pl. 85). Around the top of skirt No. 168 of Type YY2.I from Traostalos is wrapped a wide sash or belt which

descends down in front with an additional longer piece that hangs down the centre front in a longer narrower loop, whilst at the top is an elaborate and centrally placed knot. Belts were formed by applying long strips of clay round the waist and for this reason one may imagine that many have fallen off, and hence are seen to be absent on many of the figurines.

A second important accessory to the female figurines was undoubtedly her head-gear (Fig. 61-62 ) and this Myres certainly recognised in his examination of the figurines from Petsopha.<sup>184</sup>

Amongst the Pre-palatial figurines indications of one type of hat were first seen in the example from Gournes of Type BB (Fig. 27C) and No. 25 from Koumasa (Fig. 24) of Type DD represented by an open bowl-shaped projection rising up from the top of the head. No. 26 of Type EE from Koumasa (Pl. 34 ) by way of contrast revealed a more rounded hat on the back of the head. During the Proto-palatial period hats show a far greater level of sophistication and variety in style. No. 97 from Petsopha (Pl. 79 ) for example, wears a tall, tongue-shaped hat attached to the top and back of the head and sweeping forwards in a high curve and with recurved edges leaving a shallow bowl on the interior.<sup>185</sup> No. 40 from Juktas (Fig. 73 ) shows remnants of the self same wide open bowl-shaped hat seen in the preceding period but projects out further and tilts slightly forwards. In Type LL2 this type of hat is revealed but pulled in at the sides giving a rounded 'peaked' effect in front and behind. No. 187 of Type PP2 from Chamaizi (Pl. 85) wore a flat beret type hat with a thick rounded edge in front.

The heads from Piskokephalo<sup>186</sup> (Pls. 105-131) reveal a new sophistication in their modelling, and a new style character-

ized by their hair being tied up in a high bun and gathered in by a thick wide band (Type ZZ2.II) - they do not appear to ever wear 'hats', and their hair is depicted in long strands parted in the front and falling down either side framing the face.

A small group of figurines of which the sex is unknown and are characteristically seated (e.g. the four figurines of Type RR3 set on model from Kamilari and No. 105 from Petsopha) wear long gowns that are not drawn in at the waist and extend to the ground, though what their significance holds in relation to the more common bell-shaped skirt or dress is unknown.

(b) Males: The male figurines of the Proto-palatial period reveal a smaller range of types than the females and a distinctly smaller range of attribute variations within these. This is mainly due to the fact that the male is depicted with a minimal amount of clothing represented by a codpiece and/or loincloth; or a covering short kilt.<sup>187</sup> It will be remembered that figurines of Type AA2II-IV (Pls. 36 - 47 ) were all naked save for a codpiece attached to the groin and extending upwards. Type CC2.I, II, III (Pls. 50-64) wore a thick belt round the waist with a codpiece attachment or loincloth and Types DD2.I and II most commonly associated with Petsopha revealed the same type of belt and codpiece attachment but superimposed by a large triangular-bladed dagger, placed almost horizontally across the belt (Pls. 66-67).<sup>188</sup> Examples Nos. 93 and 94 revealed two vertical hangings coming down from underneath the dagger (perhaps from the belt) and No. 93 an additional short kilt painted in white and white ankle boots. The 'kilt' was not always painted on but in some cases was shown in relief: this is the case in example



J4 from Juktas which displays no dagger but instead an elaborate knot with hangings superimposed onto the kilt. In Type DD2.II the belt ties on the right hand side and the codpiece protrudes beneath the kilt at its base. No. 160 of Type EE2 from Traostalos appears to wear a short kilt which only covers the buttocks leaving the codpiece exposed in front (Fig. 71 ). Evidently over the loincloth or codpiece a white wrapper or kilt was worn with an added knotted belt or girdle that secured the whole: alternatively a single codpiece or loincloth was worn. That this represented the standard form of male dress is born out by the iconographic evidence where figurines are characteristically seen wearing a kilt and/or codpiece or loincloth.<sup>189</sup>

The male figurines from Piskokephalo stand apart in their dress from other contemporary male examples from other sites (Pls. 41-46, 69, 71 -72). They wear two long and narrow rectangular flaps in front, and behind and extending to just above the knees (Pls. 71 - 72). The thighs are left exposed and there is no obvious belt or girdle worn below or on top of the long flaps.<sup>190</sup>

On their heads the male figurines tend to wear a small rounded cap, or three of these rounded discs set along the median from the forehead to the back of the neck. The lack of attribute variation in male figurines, therefore, can be directly attributed to the lack of clothing they wore and decorative attachments: clearly this was reserved for the female group on which so much more attention to detail was paid.

#### The Neo-palatial Period

The Neo-palatial period witnesses a drop in the production of figurines of all sexes, particularly those made of clay. These



are now superseded, in smaller numbers, by bronzes.<sup>191</sup> With the new materials, including faience,<sup>192</sup> came slight changes in fashion particularly amongst the female figurines. Terracotta figurines were still in evidence, but largely represented by isolated examples from domestic contexts: No. 222 of Type HH4 from Phaistos (Pl. 179) reveals a hollow wheel-made and bell-shaped skirt with a neat incurving rim on its top outer edge - its stylized and regular form are more reminiscent of the bell-shaped and larger figures of LMII and III particularly from Karphi and Gazi. The figures of Type QQ4 from Agia Triadha stand in marked contrast to the above in their altogether cruder and hand-moulded bell-shaped bodies (Figs. 109 a & b ). These reveal a close affinity to forms of the Pre-palatial period except that their gestures are clearly exaggerated.

(a) Females: For the greatest achievement in small sculpture one must undoubtedly turn to the bronze and faience figurines of this period to which the craftsmen had undoubtedly focussed his attention.

In terms of dress, the female of this period is characterized by a deeply flounced skirt - formed by a succession of horizontal or V-shaped tiers down the length of the skirt (Pls. 188). In the bronze figurines they are largely V-shaped,<sup>193</sup> though some reveal horizontal flounces,<sup>194</sup> and others have a smooth finish and/or a vertical pleat at either side in clear imitation of clay types (Pls. 188 and 190 ).<sup>195</sup> In the case of the faience figurines the flounces are horizontal superimposed by a double apron. Double and single belts held loosely or drawn in tightly and tight bands drawing in the waist are worn. On the torso the characteristic open-fronted bodice or jacket exposing the breasts and with short sleeves

is still in evidence. On the faience figurines the bodices are highly decorated with spirals and the faience robes found together with them reveal the same degree of decoration. On one, the skirt depicts a spray of flowers at the front.<sup>196</sup>

The bodices of the bronze figurines reveal a slight difference, in their shape, from the faience group; in the former the upper border is still visible in a straight line beneath the neck from where it descends on either side of the breasts into a deep V-shape below the navel. The bodices of the latter have a squarer outline in front.

Head-dress is conspicuous by its absence in this period, particularly with regard to the terracotta figurines: here female figurines are largely bald as in No. 222 of Type HH4 from Phaistos. No. 223 of Type II4 from this same site does reveal a thick double lock of hair attached to the crown and falling down to the nape of the neck and No. 183 of Type NN4 from Agia Triadha, depicting a seated and naked female figure wears a small conical cap on her crown. They do not represent however the style and character of the previous period. With regard to the bronze figurines their hair is shown in one of two basic types: either with part of it tied up in a bun and the ends hanging down the back, or, falling freely down the back and often round the shoulders in front. This is shown on the examples from Agia Triadha and Psychro (Pls. 188-189).

On a figurine from Palaikastro of Type UU4 a small bun appears to sit on the crown of the head from which a long strip runs right down to the edge of the skirt at the back, crossing at the top with some sort of collar round the neck (Fig. 111 . ). No. KN1 of the faience group from Knossos (Type WW4) wears a high 'tiara' on her

head with a snake coiled around it and No. KN2 wears a low round hat encircled with discs and surmounted with a spotted cat. (Figs. 113 and 114 ). Similar versions of these hats have been seen on examples from peak sanctuaries cited above. What makes these figurines and their hats more unusual is the attributes attached to them, the material from which they were made, and their highly decorated nature. Their quality and uniqueness is best attributed to the fact that they belong to the contents of a wealthy shrine in the palace of Knossos at a time when artistic achievements had reached their height.

(b) Males: Male figurines of the Neo-palatial period are predominantly bronze and reveal a small variety of forms. In dress they continue to wear belts and codpiece attachments or loincloths. These may be plainly exposed, or covered by a short flap in front and behind, or a single flap behind exposing the codpiece in front, or a double flap in front (or apron) one part of which sometimes extends to the knees with a short flap still covering the buttocks at the back (Pls. 178-179, Figs. 100-101 ).<sup>198</sup> In some cases the codpiece is not indicated at all beneath a short kilt or tunic and for this reason they have become of an indistinguishable sex.<sup>199</sup> Many reveal ankle boots<sup>200</sup> similar to those noted on clay examples from the preceding period painted on in white, and bracelets and neck bands (Pl. 178, Figs. 100 - 101 ) The main additions to the male repertoire of dress therefore are the short and/or longer flaps in front and behind and over the codpiece or loincloth, but particularly the longer and tapering flap or apron hanging down in front. These may well represent or be adaptations of the short kilt seen in the previous period, either painted onto the clay



figurines or seen in relief and more commonly seen in frescoes of the Neo-palatial period.<sup>201</sup> The tunics, too, appear to be a new addition, but are not as commonly found, as indeed the wider sash and kilt seen on the figures from Tylissos.<sup>202</sup> The latter have attracted attention because of the fact that their waists are not drawn in tightly as the majority of the other male figurines: this may denote the obesity of the particular individual or be representative of an older man.<sup>203</sup>

The importance of 'dress' and 'adornments' is evident from their varying representations and development throughout the Minoan periods, from the earliest rendition of a simple bell-shaped lower half to the deep flounced skirt of the bronze females, and from a simple codpiece or loincloth to the tapering aprons or flaps covering the codpieces on the bronze males. It provided the craftsmen and artist with the possibility of creativity within the scope of contemporary fashion, and a demonstration of his artistic abilities. It gave a sense of individuality to the many figurines in their identification as worshippers amidst a growing urban population, and where fashion and status were becoming of increasing importance. It may have distinguished between the different areas of Crete and within this the different workshops, though this is harder to prove without the availability of all the material for study. But above all is the fact that is helped characterize the figurines as being 'Minoan'.



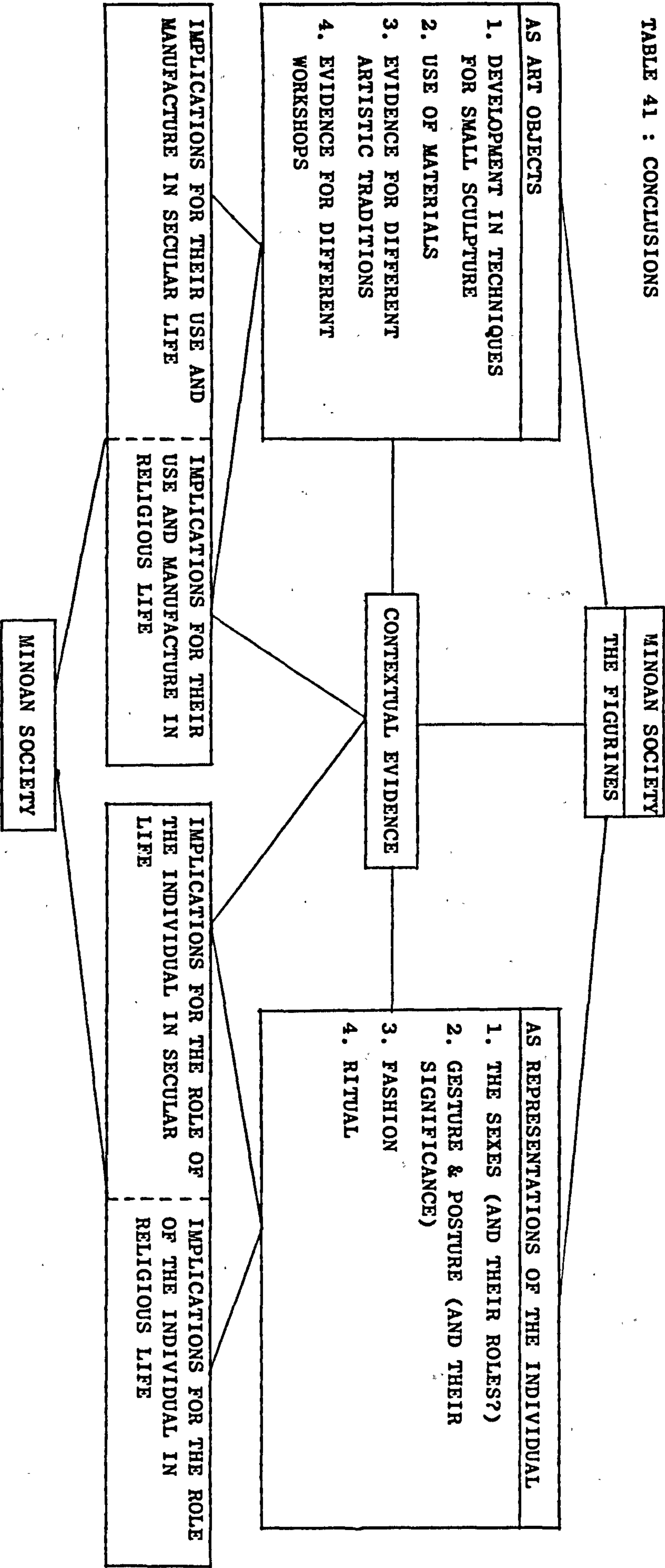
### 3. General Conclusions

The interpretation of the figurines presented in this thesis has led us ultimately to some discussion of the nature of Minoan society. This is no surprise: all objects were created and produced by people and consequently reflect them, at their different stages of historical development. In the case of anthropomorphic figurines this fact is particularly apparent as they are seen to represent the individuals themselves that make up the society in question. More specifically however, in their capacity as votive objects the figurines may give us an insight into the nature of the religion in which they were offered. These are lengthy and involved discussions in themselves and in order not to lose sight of the object around which the questions arose many other types of evidence were naturally omitted. It is hoped that this does not invalidate the conclusions drawn in this thesis however. Instead it is to be seen as a supplement to a fuller examination of Minoan society seen from a variety of aspects. X

As art objects in themselves we have seen in the figurines a development in techniques, use of different materials, evidence for two traditions and a suggestion of different workshops within these. As representations of individuals we have been able to examine the different sexes, the evidence for ritual and secular activities reflected in their postures and gestures and not least the fashion of the day and its implications in the interpretation of the structure of Minoan society. The extent and usefulness of any of these points, however, is dependent on a sufficient methodological framework from which to work, and in this case, the forming of a typology that is valid both today and, it may be hoped, for the future, when all the unpublished material and new acquisitions may be added without undue disruption to the system.

This was the primary aim of this thesis and to this end some new patterns and details have emerged in the development of Minoan anthropomorphic figurines and their subsequent interpretation.

TABLE 41 : CONCLUSIONS



### Footnotes

1. In particular reference is being made to those cases where figurines were interpreted as goddesses or cult images, as for example in Arthur Evans' Palace of Minos and Martin Nilsson's Minoan and Mycenaean Religion ... (see chapter 1 above).
2. See Part II, Chapter 5, 'The Data Base'.
3. See Part I, Chapter 3, 'Methodology and Definitions' and especially Table 5.
4. See Sakellorakis, E., AE 1983, 44, Fig.1, Pl.23. This was in fact an isolated find brought to the museum in 1982 by its finder. It is thought to have come from a tomb.
5. These sites have been identified by Alan Peatfield in a preliminary article: ref. BSA 78, 1983, 273-281, Fig.1. His research is still in progress. In Rutkowski's revised edition, The Cult Places of the Aegean, 1986, Ch.V, 96-98, he gives a catalogue of thirty-seven peak sanctuaries with full bibliographies accompanying each one. Peatfields' own list is based on Rutkowski's survey (Cult Palaces in the Aegean World, 1972, 152-88) and Faure's identifications (BCH 80, 1956, 95-103; 82, 1958, 485-515; 84, 1960, 189-220; 86, 1962, 36-56; 87, 1963, 493-508; 89, 1965, 27-63; 91, 1967, 114-150; 93, 1969, 174-213; 96, 1972, 389-426; 102, 1978, 629-40).
6. See Peatfield, 1983, op.cit., 273. Also Faure BCH 93, 1969, 174-213; 96, 1972, 389-426 and Rutkowski, 1972, op.cit., 184-5.
7. Both Faure and Rutkowski have examined the evidence for Minoan remains in near proximity to peak sanctuaries and indeed walking times from modern day villages up to the peak sanctuaries. Peatfield, 1983, op.cit., 275-276, stresses that it appears 'important that the sanctuary should be seen from the region it served and



and also that it should 'see' that region'. This area would have encompassed a variety of communities.

8. Blackman and Branigan, BSA 72, 1977, 13-84.
9. Bintliff, J., Natural Environment and Human Settlement in Pre-historic Greece (British Archaeological Reports, Supplementary Series 28, 1977) 145-70.
10. Peatfield, 1983, op.cit., 276-7.
11. ibid. 277
12. In particular one may be able to correlate the cruder figurine types with the smaller outlying communities and the more elaborate with the palaces and their central workshops. In section 1(b) below the distinction between 'private' and 'public' offerings is discussed. It is testified, perhaps, by the presence of multiple examples of one type ('public' offerings at a large ceremony) on some sanctuaries (Traostalos in particular, see Table 9) and types represented by only one crude example, obviously of an isolated nature ('private' offerings) on the same or other peak sanctuaries. On this basis, if all the evidence from peak sanctuaries were available it may be possible to demonstrate on which sites major ceremonies occurred and consequently which were the central and major peak sanctuaries of such a hierarchy, as suggested.
13. See Peatfield, 1983, op.cit., 277, n.23. He cites as examples Petsopha, Traostalos, Modhi, Pyrgos, Gonies, Kophinas, Vrysinas and Juktas. Also see Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., (see n.5 above) 95.
14. In particular, reference is being made to the bronze figurines from these sites. Pottery from these sites certainly indicates that they were in use well into the Neo-palatial period and beyond, in some cases to LMIIIB. See Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 79-87.

15. Rouse, WHD. Greek Votive Offerings: an essay in the history of Greek religion, 1902, 351-2.
16. Peatfield, 1983, op. cit., 275.
17. Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 87-88.
18. ibid., 88.
19. ibid. This is born out in the figurines by those examples depicting pregnant woman (see Myres, BSA IX, 1902-3, 370, pl.XI, 22, In.No. 4871. With regard to sickness, disease is often highlighted in the depiction of particular figures and particularly seen in the numerous isolated limbs and dissected torsos (see Myres, ibid., pl.XI).
20. See n. 13 above.
21. See Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 82-83, Fig.94. Also Platon, Ergon 1963 (1964), 172.
22. See Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 82-83, Fig.95. Alexiou, Kr.Chr. 13, 1959, 346; 17, 1963, 339.
23. A surplus of food, and thus a more productive way of producing it goes hand in hand with an increase in population and economic resources.
24. As represented in the annual harvest festival in the Church of England today and similar annual ceremonies in Greece in the Spring and Autumn.
25. Evans, A., BSA VII, 1900-1901, 28; BSA IX, 1902-3, 37; Nilsson, M., Minoan and Mycenaean Religion and its survival in Later Greek Religion, 1950 (2nd ed.) 352; Matz, F., Gottererscheinung und Kultbild im Minoischen Kreta, 1958, 394. Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 87, Fig.114.
26. Forsdyke, J., Minos of Crete, JWC I XV, 1952, 13-19.

27. Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 311. Nilsson describes the faience figure as 'an actual cult idol'. In addition he distinguishes the status of Goddess and votary where there is inadequate evidence (see esp. 84-85).
28. Matz also argues against their interpretation as cult images favouring their interpretation as votive offerings. See Matz, 1958, op.cit., 32. Also Schweitzer, B, Zur kunst der Antike Ausgewählte Schriften I, 1963, 258-283 and Furumark, A, Gods of Ancient Crete, UpsAth. 1965, 85-92.
29. Renfrew in the Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi, 1985, 22-24, 372-373, discusses the complex question of 'cult image or votive' with reference to the figurines from this sanctuary. This discussion has provided the basis of the arguments presented here.
30. ibid., 372.
31. Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 131, fig.187a-c. Et.Cret.12, Fig.3.
32. This ambiguity in the gesture is emphasised by Renfrew, 1985, op.cit., 23. 'Gesture' as a whole is discussed in section 2(b) of this chapter.
33. Evans PMI, 221, Fig.166; BSA VIII, 28; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 87-88, Fig.17.
34. Dated to LMIIIA2. See Evans BSA VIII, 1901-2, 95; PM I, 576; PM III, 335. Also Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 78; Popham 'The Last Days of the Palace of Knossos', 1964, 14.
35. Dated to LMIIIA. Platon, Kr.Chr. 11, 1957, 332; Ergon, 1957, 92; Alexiou, 1958, 195.
36. Cult objects from the sub-Minoan period were found here. J. Pendlebury et al. BSA XXXVIII, 1937-1938, 84. Also see

Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 167, Figs. 242-243.

37. See James, E.O., *From Cave to Cathedral*, 1964, 15. Rutkowski, 1986, op.cit., 65.
38. Figurines of animals, and in particular bulls and made of bronze, have been found in caves.
39. See n.37 above.
40. See Map 1.
41. That this was the result of the rise of a young male god of secondary status but accompanying the Great Goddess was first considered by Evans (cf. PM III). Here he discusses the death and return to life of a youthful god. Willetts, R.F., in *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, 1962, 80, suggests that just as 'the element of continuity in this vegetation cycle is represented by the goddess, who also maintains the continuity of human life, the element of discontinuity, of growth, decay and renewal, is a god. He is made because he personifies the seed and because he shares in its mortality, he is a dying god". Thus the abundance of male figurines in caves could be related to the death and rebirth of a male god which was in itself an annual celebration connected to the rebirth of nature. The evidence from caves, however, is not sufficient to prove the existence of a male god or such a cult of the caves.
42. E. Neumann in *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype*, 1963, emphasises that the vital bond between man and nature is the 'earth' and the method of deposition in caves is indicative of such a chthonic cult. In addition, the cave, seen as the symbolic 'womb' of the mountain and hence by association, of the earth also, must logically have been treated as a female prin-



ciple, representative of the all-pervading mother-goddess.

Having been used as human habitation, burial and then sanctuary it was 'the natural form of such symbols as temple and temenos, hut and house', signifying what 'protects' and 'closes off'.

At the same time its seasonal use and seasonal celebrations are indicative of a vegetation cycle dominated by the afore-said mother-goddess.

43. This is indicated by small holes sometimes found at the base of the neck and the top of the adjoining torso where the two parts have been rejoined after breakage. See Schematic Type *JĪ*, Nos. 11 and 14 from Koumasa.
44. Branigan, K., 'The Tombs of Mesara', 1970, Chapter 7, The Cemetery and Society, 121.
45. Branigan, K., 1970, op.cit., 101 and 132, n. - namely Apesokari I, where an altar was found in the centre of the largest chamber, though the tomb is late in date and different in its method of construction; and Kamilari I where a block of stone was found within an enclosure and termed by Levi as an altar (cf. La Tomba a Tholos di Kamilari Presso a Festos. *Annuario* 39-40, 1962). For Apesokori see Matz, F., 'Forschungen auf Kreta' (ed.), 1951.
46. See Branigan, K., 1970, op.cit., 132, Fig.27, with reference to Koumasa.
47. See Nilsson, M., 1950 (2nd Edition), op.cit., Chapter VI, 194, Ch.IX, 311 on the significance of the double axe and the snakes and locations for finds of both.
48. K. Branigan, 1970, op.cit., 97, and I. Pini in *Beitrage zur Minoischen Graberkunde*, 1968, have pointed out that the use of the inter and antechambers of tholoi has become obscure with

time as a result of their secondary use as 'dumping' space for (a) material taken from the tomb of (b) additional burial chambers after the tomb became full. However the evidence still suggests that rituals took place in these rooms.

49. As at Apesokari II, Agia Triadha A, Kamilari I, Lebena II and Vorou A. K. Branigan, 1970, op.cit., 98. Tens and hundreds of conical cups were found in these locations.
50. Branigan, K., 1970, op.cit., 93.
51. And here I refer to the Early Minoan Period:
52. ibid., 134. Also see Levi, D., 1962, op.cit., 122-148, and Xanthoudides, S., 'The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara', 1924 and Sakellarakis, I., 'A Tholos Tomb at Agios Kyrillos in the Mesara, AAA I, 1968.
53. Xanthoudides, S., 1924, op.cit., p.41 & 97, pls. XXIXa, Lib.
54. Nilsson, M., 1950, 2nd Edition, op.cit., 80.
55. ibid., 32, 325, 335: Rutkowski agrees that the 'household goddess revealed herself in the sanctuaries in the form of a snake...' Rutkowski, B., 1972, op.cit., 256.
56. Evans, A., BSA VIII, 1901-1902, 95-105, Fig.55. Also see Nilsson, M., 1950, op.cit., 194, on the significance of the Double Axe.
57. Many finds from tomb areas are of a Proto-palatial date and certainly ritual activity must have continued into this period as well. There is no doubt, however, that peak sanctuaries began to assume much greater importance during the Proto-palatial period as centres of worship, thus detracting attention from activities formerly centred around tombs and/or cemeteries. The nature of the burials also began to show a gradual change

- testified by the appearance of sarcophagi and single burials in place of the communal burials of the Early Minoan period.
58. Further strengthened by the evidence for figurines depicting pregnant women e.g. No. 12 (Pl.23) of Schematic Type JII.
59. Branigan, K., 1970, op.cit., 118-120, Pl.16. Branigan sees the Minoans of the Early Bronze Age as adopting the Snake Goddess (because of her chthonic associations) as one of the divinities they worshipped in and around tholoi, but that she was not involved in funerary rituals: thus her adoption in later domestic shrines and peak sanctuaries was more easily carried out (cf. 'The Genesis of the Household Goddess', SMEA 8, 1969 (a)'). In addition he stresses that there must have been a death deity who is recognised, perhaps, by her embodiment as a bird and the adoption of the double axe as her symbol. He supports this by the presence of bird-vessels, and double axes in tomb contexts and the appearance of birds (which suggest epiphanies of a deity) double axes (symbol of deity), bull sacrifices (as offerings to the deity) and two female figurines riding in a chariot - all on the Agia Triadha Sarcophagus.
60. ibid., 116-118, also see Levi, D., 1962, op.cit., 122-148, Figs. 170a-f, 177a-b, 177a-c, for Kamilari models.
61. ibid.
62. ibid.
63. Size is often used as an indicator of status, especially when the identification of a god(s) or goddess(es) is in question (see n.29 above and discussion of faience figurines from Knossos). When associated with attention focusing elements, size is particularly important. In this model the four seated figures are

evidently the centre of attention and larger than the standing figures opposite them and 'offering' goods to them. In the absence of any divine attributes however, one can only conclude that they are individuals of a high status, but not necessarily divinities. Furthermore we have no evidence anywhere else in Crete for the concept of four divinities. The seated position is commonly used to identify the Minoan Goddess in iconographic evidence: this shall be more fully discussed in section 2b of this chapter.

64. Branigan, K., 1970, op.cit., 117, Pl.15, stresses these views with regard to the model representing a shrine and denoting a concept of 'physical afterlife'. I strongly agree with these views.
65. Branigan, K., 1970, op.cit., 119, 134-5, in particular.  
Nilsson, M., op.cit., Ch. XIII, 426.
66. Normally identified by the two female figures in the griffin chariot and the bird (representing the epiphany of a god/goddess) on the end panel.
67. Compare for instance the examples of Type QQ4 from Agia Triadha made of clay, with the bronze figurines of the same period and from the same sight.
68. See Part III, Chapter 8 and tables 17 and 18.
69. ibid., Table 17. One must remember the scarcity of excavated settlements from this period which consequently limits our knowledge of the precise numbers from these sites.
70. ibid.
71. See Table 18.
72. These are the figurines from Koumasa, and represent types more



commonly associated with peak sanctuary sites of the succeeding period. Koumasa was still in use well into the Proto-palatial period, so the possibility of their dating to this later period should not be discounted altogether. See Branigan 1970, op.cit., 167.

73. Figurines from Petsopha with a light on dark painted decoration suggests a similarity with EMIII pottery and thus date to this period. Even if we accept such a dating for these figurines the schematic types would still appear to predominate in the Pre-palatial period.
74. See Table nos. 6-9. This information was collected from the Museum Catalogue at Herakleion, but does not include additional examples located from other museums in Crete but from the same sites (Agios Nikoloas and Siteia).
75. See Plates 18 - 21 . For the origins of these types and their derivatives in Crete see Renfrew, AJA 73, 1969, and Branigan, BSA 66, 1971.
76. See Table 31 on interrelationship of types and periods.
77. It must be conceded that the exact dating of these figurines is unknown. We know from the pottery, in particular, that Petsopha was in use in EMIII, so the possibility that these figurines are Pre-palatial in date should not be discounted altogether. I have assumed here that they were found with figurines of more certain Proto-palatial date. In addition they are made of clay and no schematic type figurine of the Pre-palatial period is made of this material: all are made of stone.
78. See 1(c) of this chapter.
79. Room 92 at Myrtos has been identified as a shrine (cf. Warren,

Myrtos: An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete, 1972, 85-87, Fig. 28, Pl.28) and dated to EMII. The main identifying feature of this room as a shrine is the so-called 'Myrtos goddess' (ibid., Figs. 91-2, Pls. 69-70) beside a stone structure thought to be an altar. The figure holds a small jug with a hole in it which gives access to the interior of the large bell-form. I would consider this more of an anthropomorphic vessel. Furthermore no other objects of known religious significance were located in this room, nor of any contemporary figurines. If it is to be regarded as an example of an Early Minoan shrine, however, its small size and location in the settlement would indicate domestic use only. I would therefore still maintain that the main centres of ritual activity for the whole community were centred around tomb areas, outside the settlements.

80. See Majewski, K., 'Plastyka Antropomorficzna na Krecie WIII; II Tysiąclecie Przed N.E.'. *Archaeologia* VI, 1954 (1956), 7-8. Majewski stresses that at the turning point of EMIII-MMII the 'tribal hierarchy' on Crete was without doubt economically and politically developed enough to break away from tribal masses and create for itself, together with the artisans, artists, and merchants, new needs and a new outlook. It was an artistic need which could express their new social role and serve their economic interests. This new ideology cut itself away from the 'magic' of the previous period by 'proven rituals, professional priestesses, places of worship and cult practises, and cult implements'. Rather than being a 'new' ideology I would see it as a development of the older and more basic elements of a religion that represented the needs of more primitive peoples, and

not just a 'magic'.

81. See Chapter 8(c) and Tables 17 and 18.
82. See Part II, Chapters 5 and 6 and section 1(c) of this chapter.
83. As seen in the quantity of figurines and pottery from the Proto-palatial period and lack of it in the succeeding period.
84. The earliest bronze figurines from a cave date to MMIII - see C. Verlinden, 'Les Statuettes Anthropomorphes Crétoises en bronze et en Plomb du III<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> Siecle Av. J-C, 1983. The one exception is Trapeza, but this was a burial cave and not used as a sanctuary, and schematic figurines from here date to the Pre-palatial period.
85. The largest deposit from this period comes from Psychro, with three others from Skoteino. The villa of Agia Triadha yielded a deposit of bronze figurines, however, of great value as did the peak sanctuaries of Kophinas, Juktas and Traostalos. I would dispute that any of the figurines from the latter sites belong to the Proto-palatial period however but the beginning of the Neo-Palatial period in MMIII (see Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit.).
86. Part I, Chapter 3 and Table 5.
87. See Part III, Chapter 8.
88. No. AR15 from Archanes of Type JI. See Fig. Sakellarakis, I & E., IAE, 1978 (1980), 320, Pl.195a-b.
89. See 1(c) above, of this chapter. There have been many interpretations of the female Cycladic Figurines located in the Cyclades, some of which are presented below. For instance, that they correspond to Egyptian 'Ushabtis' which were designed to serve the dead and satisfy their sexual appetites in the after-world (Hogarth, D.G., 'Aegean Sepulchral Figures' in Essays in



Aegean Archaeology presented to Sir A. Evans, 1927, 57-60); or that they were substitutes for human sacrifice, Nilsson, M., in MMR, 1950, 2nd. Ed., 194); or images of venerated ancestors (Zervos, C., 'L'art de la Crète Néolithique et Minoenne', 1956, 44) or toys to amuse the deceased (ibid.); or that they represent heroes and nymphs of Cycladic mythology in which the backward tilt of the head found on many represents an attempt to show the figure at the very moment of ecstasy and inspiration (Schofield, K., 'Heroen und Nymphen in Kykladengräbern' Antike kunst 8, 1965, 87); or most commonly, that they are representative of the Great Mother Goddess of fertility or a divine protectress who will guide the dead into the 'other' world (Evans, A., PMI 1921, 51; Glotz, The Aegean Civilization, 1925, 378, Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 290; Thimme, J., 'Die religiöse Bedeutung der Kykladenidole' AK8, 1965, 79-86; Zervos, C., 1956, op.cit., 43 and 46). Dumas, C. (in Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades, from Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Vol.48) regards them more as individual possessions and methods of identification in the communal burials. G. Thomson (in Studies in Ancient Greek Society 1: The Prehistoric Aegean 1954, 2nd. Ed.) concludes that as representations of particular worshippers the figurines were dedicated in order to place them under the goddesses' protection - not to the afterworld - 'but in times of actual danger, sickness or childbirth and in times of imaginary danger such as initiation, marriage or bereavement'. It possessed special powers and at the time of burial the figurine was buried with the person concerned in order that it could be neutralized with 'her': women played an essential part as a means through which life could be continued.



90. Ucko, P., in 'Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines', Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 92 (Vol. 65-66 N.S.), 1962, 38-55, discusses the reasons 'underlying the manufacture and use of anthropomorphic figurines in pre-dynastic Egypt, neolithic Crete, the prehistoric Near East and prehistoric mainland Greece'. Although these figurines belong to a different period and from different areas his conclusions are instructive in the comparative data they provide for the sexless figurines. He sees them in their use for 'sympathetic magic' reaffirmed by their 'size and portability' and location in 'habitation debris and rubbish areas as well as occasionally from within houses'. In addition they may have had additional or other functions including their use as dolls by children (here more readily determined by use of clay, arm stumps, lack of ritual context, size and portability and non-conformist figurines and animals') or as 'initiation figures' (here confirmed by 'costly material other than clay, difference in technical achievement, location in habitation debris and rubbish areas as well as from within houses, non-conformist figurines and animals and lack of any divine attributes'). I see no reason to exclude these possibilities in their interpretation but likewise would also like to see the inclusion of the possibility of their interpretation as children.
91. Cf. Renfrew, C., 1969, op.cit.
92. These figurines are better represented by Types A-I. Although a few may be imports (e.g. No.12 of Type JII from Koumasa, depicting a pregnant woman) the majority represent imitations of Cycladic forms made from local marble, ivory, bone and steatite. Whether

they were produced by a local Cycladic colony or by Minoans who had brought back copies with them and adapted them, is a question much in dispute: but whatever the answer the important fact is, is that they became part of the Early Minoan tradition in miniature sculpture and were found together with the more common Cretan types, evidently serving the same purpose. For the discussions on the Cretan derivatives and Cycladic colonies see Sakellarakis, I. in *Kunst und Kulture der Kykladeninseln im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr: 'Die Kykladen und Kreta'* Ed. J. Thimme, 1976, 149ff.; Branigan, K., 1971, op.cit.; Doulas, C., AAA 9, 1976, 69-80..

93. See Part III, Chapter 9.

94. See Tables 20 and 21.

95. Majewski, 1954 (1956), op.cit., 7, pointed this out in reference to women as 'snake-charmers', 'dancers and worshippers' and 'acrobats'; and men in their capacity as 'warriors and sportsmen'. I would disagree only in the latter and more particularly the men 'as warriors': the relatively peaceful disposition of the Minoans in the Neo-palatial period emphasised, not least, by the absence of fortification walls and lack of weaponry. Such weapons as existed could have been equally used for hunting and therefore Minoan men as 'hunters' is much more plausible as their active role.

96. This has been raised in 1(c) above. Levi (in 'La tomba a tholos di Kamilari Presso a Festòs'. *Annuario* 39-40 (23 N.S.), 1962, 122-148, Figs. 170a-f, 174a-b, 177a-c). sees both models as religious: No.26 of Type CC3 as a funerary preparation and Type BB3 as a religious ceremony involving dancing. The latter may

certainly indicate ritual dancing, though the former interpretation is more dubious.

97. This has already been raised above (see n.90).
98. Levi, D. (1962, op.cit., 122-148, figs. 170a-f, 174a-b, 179 a-c) put forward the notion that this model represented a shrine and that the two standing figures are pouring libations either to a chthonic deity or to the deified dead. Branigan, K. (1970 op.cit., 116-117) argues, correctly, that there is too much evidence against any cult of the dead like disturbance of burial goods, complete removal of them and frequent looting and destruction of personal possessions.
99. See Pl. depicting a seated female from Kophinas (on display in the Herakleion Museum) with one leg apparently swollen.
100. Even if they were regarded as Proto-palatial survivals (which I doubt) their forms are still crude and stylized.
101. This position of the foot slightly forward would undoubtedly have contributed to the balance of the upright figures, and should be taken into consideration as a point of 'technique', in the making of figurines.
102. Unique in Crete, and one of the best Cycladic examples: cf. Marinatos, S., *Funde und Forschungen auf Kreta*, *Jarbuch Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts.*, 48, 1933, 300-303, esp. 301, figs. 10 and 11. Marinatos points out that the stool corresponds to the stool of the 'Harp-player' of Thera (cf. Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, Pl.16) and that she is obviously a goddess despite the objections of others (301), reflected in her seated posture. Also see Sakellarakis, I., 1976, op.cit., 156, pl.46, - he notes the parallels found on Naxos.



103. Myres, J.L., BSA 9, 1902-3, 373-4.
104. ibid. + Pl.XI, No.26
105. ibid. but not represented.
106. ibid. + Pl.XI, No.25, and Pl.XIII, No.77-9 for the detached chairs and stools.
107. See Note 98 above. It does appear to detect a ceremony of sorts but of what kind, remains unknown.
108. It is still possible, however, that this group of figurines represent storage for or from a shrine on an upper floor or in another part of the villa.
109. L. Banti in Annuario, Vol. 3-5 N.S., 1941-43 (1948), 18-21, Figs. 6a, b, stresses that only the presence of the female figurines attest to a domestic cult of sorts (20): the store-rooms in which they were found were small and squalid and showed a marked contrast to the living quarters of the south-east. She warns against the interpretation of such a nude, seated female figure as having religious significance or representing a cult idol or goddess (21) - as Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 296, Fig.114.
110. Nilsson, op.cit., 1950, Ch.XI, 341; Evans, PMI-IV, 1921-35; Brandt, E., 'Gruss und Gebet: Eine studie zu Gebärden in der Minoisch - Mykenischen und Frühgriechischen kunst', 1965.
111. ibid. Particularly Brandt who sees the identification of a goddess in glyptic, amongst other attributes, in a 'seated' position (op.cit., 6 and 17-18).
112. PM Vol. II, Part I, Ch. 47, 340, Fig. 194(e).
113. Signet type, found on clay matrix. PMII, Vol.II, 767. Also Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 347, fig.158, and Persson, 1942, RGPT, 178, fig.22.



114. PM IV, Vol.II, 952, Fig.919.
- 115.. See Note 111 above.
116. As seen in the impression of an electron ring from Mycenae depicting a large seated woman holding out her hand with one pointed finger, to a smaller male standing figure. Evans, PMIII, 464, fig.324 + TPC, 175, fig.51. Such higher status may be held by a priestess if the scene is thought to be of a religious nature. This may be determined by the presence of divine attributes (as in gold signet ring from Mycenae, 1950, op.cit., 347, fig.158).
117. This would not be the case where the seated figure is being approached by figures bearing offerings, thus denoting a ceremony of sorts (e.g. gold ring from Mycenae, n.116). This provides a stronger case for her identification as a divinity, or a priestess imbued with divine powers.
118. A few examples include: a seal impression from Agia Triadha depicting two women apparently dancing around a table (Levi, D., ASAtene 8-9, 1925-26, 139, fig.153 + Evans, T.P.C., JHS 21, 1901, 182; seal impression from Agia Triadha; Levi, 1925-26, op.cit., 141, fig.156 and Evans, JHS 45, 1925, 12, fig.13; gold ring from Mycenae, Fütwangler Antike Gemmen, pl.VI.3, Evans, 1901, op.cit., 177, fig.53; seal impression now in Paris, Matz and Pini, CMS, Vol.9, 1972, 189, No.164; gold ring from Isopata depicting four dancing women, Evans, 1925, op.cit., 58, fig.51 and Matz, F., 'Gottererscheinung und Kultbild in Minoischen Kreta', 1958, Pl.3.
119. Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., Ch. IX, 299.
120. Brandt, 1965, op.cit.
121. ibid., 20.

122. ibid., 1-2
123. See her discussion on the Isopata gold ring, ibid., 5-6.
124. ibid., 23-24.
125. ibid., 24. Except, perhaps, in those cases where a combination of the attributes and gesture of one central figure is distinctly different to the other figures.
126. These points have been well covered and documented by Kenna, V.E.G., 'Cretan Seals', 1960, with a catalogue of the Minoan Gems in the Ashmolean Museum (50).
127. E.g. seal impression from Koumasa dated to EMII/III showing a man(?), Matz and Pini, CMS Vol.II, I, 1969, 165, No.145; seal impression, J.M. Dawkins, Private collection dated to EMIII, Matz and Pini, CMS, Vol.III, 1966, 9, No.5; seal impression from Porti dated to EMII/III, Matz and Pini, CMS, Vol.II, I, 1969, 422, No.365; seal impressions from Kasteli Pedeada, particularly that of two women dancing around a sun symbol, Evans, A., PMI, 123, fig.93A, and Matz, F., Die Frühketischen Siegel, 1928, Pl.XIX, fig.5-8.
128. As seen in Neo-palatial seals from Agia Triadha (Levi, 1925-26, op.cit., 139) and Zakros (D.G. Hogarth, JHS, Vol.21, 1902, 77, Pl.VI-IX).
129. See n.116 and n.117 above for references. Also included are a gold plated silver ring from Mycenae (Evans, TPC, 1901, op.cit., 184, fig.58 and Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 181, fig.86); a gold ring from Mycenae (Evans, 1901, op.cit., 189, fig.63 and Nilsson 1950, op.cit., 181, fig.86); gold signet ring from Mycenae (Evans, 1901, op.cit., 177, fig.53 and Persson, 1942, op.cit., fig.4 and Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 256, fig.124); gold ring from Mycenae

- (Evans, 1901, op.cit., 183, fig.57, and PMIII, 137, fig.89).
130. See n.127 above.
  131. See n.127 above.
  132. Matz, F., 'Die Frükkretischen Siegel; Eine untersuchung über das werden des Minoischen stiles' 1928. Contained in this volume are hundreds of illustrations of various designs on early Cretan seals.
  133. Evans, 1901, op.cit., 184, fig.58; Persson, 1942, op.cit., 175, fig.14; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 181, fig. 86.
  134. Hogarth, D.G., 1902, op.cit., 77, No.10, Pl.VI.
  135. Halberr, F., Mont.Ant. 13, 42, fig.36; Levi, D., ASAtene 8-9, 1925-26, 139, fig.152; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 180, fig.84.
  136. See n.133 above.
  137. Savignoni, Mont.Ant. 14, 577, fig.50, and Pl.XL; Nilsson, MMR, 268, fig.133.
  138. Mont.Ant. 13, 43, fig.37; Levi, ASAthene 819, 141, fig.156; Evans, 1925, op.cit., 12, fig.13; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 268, fig.134.
  139. See Part II, Chapter 6 on 'The Contextual Evidence'.
  140. Evans, 1901, op.cit., 177, fig.53; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 256, fig.124; Persson, 1942, op.cit., fig.4.
  141. Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 296; Persson, 1942, op.cit., 32, fig.1.
  142. Evans, A., PM II, 765, fig.495.
  143. Hogarth, D.G., JHS 22, 1902, 77, fig.4, No.5, Pl.VI.
  144. Savignoni, op.cit., 585, fig.51.
  145. Levi, 1925-6, op.cit., 142, fig.158; Evans, PMII, 769, fig.500; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 346, fig.157.
  146. Evans, PMIII, 464, fig.324 + TPC, 1901, 175, fig.51; Nilsson, 1950,



op.cit., 351, fig.161; Persson, 1942, op.cit., 178, fig.21.

147. Evans PM II 1928, 766, Fig 496

148. Hallager, E., 'The Master Impression', 1985. The impression was from a clay sealing from the Greek - Swedish Excavation at Kastelli, Khandia.

149. Evans, BSA 7, 28, fig.29; Matz, 1958, op.cit., Pl.5; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 252, fig.162.

150. Evans, 1901, op.cit., 184, fig.58; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 181, fig.86; Persson, 1942, op.cit., 175, fig.14.

151. Now in New York Metropolitan Museum; Matz and Pini, CMS, Vol.12, 1972, 256, No.168.

152. Levi, 1925-6, op.cit., 139, fig.153; Evans, 1901, op.cit., 182.

153. The fact that this figurine is clasping a snake in each hand is important as the latter have been identified as attributes of the Minoan goddess herself. However the possibility that the figure represents a priestess imbued with divine power (represented by the snakes) and in the midst of an ecstatic dance or ritual, (represented by the attitude of her arms) is a strong one.

154. Tsountas, Revue Archæologique, 1900, pl.VIII, I; Nilsson, 1950, op.cit., 347, fig.158; Persson, 1942, op.cit., 178, fig.22.

155. See n.145 above.

156. Not least that of the Classical Greek religion.

157. This has already been discussed in Part 1 of this chapter, p. 447

158. See n.153 above.

159. Notably from Hagia Triadha, Zakros, and Phaistos as we have seen.

160. As Brandt, 1965, op.cit., 1-3.



161. PM, Vols.I-IV, 1921-35: e.g. PMI, 125, 153, 197, 276, 500-506, 503, 547, 697-681; PMII, 33, 723, 725; PMIII, 70-71, 450; PMIV, 25.
162. BSA 9, 1902-3, 363-364, for male dress and 367-370 for female dress, and 371 for female headdress.
163. ibid., 382-387, figs. 3 & 4.
164. Kr.Chr., Vol.5, 1951, 129, for male dress and 130-131 for female dress.
165. 1925, 67-83. See also Abrahams, H., Greek Dress, 1908, ch.1, 1-15 (Prehellenic dress).
166. Davaras, C., 1976, 77-79.
167. See Figure Nos. KN1-3, p.397-8 fig. 113-114
168. Evans, PMIII, 49-52, figs. 29-31, pl.XVII.
169. 'Les Statuettes Anthropomorphes Crètoises en bronze et en Plomb du III<sup>e</sup> Millenaire au VII<sup>e</sup> Siecle Av. J-C', 1983, 94, Les Coiffures des figurines masculines; 96, Les coiffures des figurines feminines; 98, Les vêtements et les accessoires, vetement d'hommes (La suspensoire, les pagnes, les robes (99-100); Les Manteaux (100); La ceinture et les chaussures (100-101), et vêtements de femme (Les Jupes (104-6), Les robes (107), et les corsages, les voiles, les châles et les cordes (109-110).
170. In Trois Bronzes Minoens de Skoteino, BCH, 1969, 620-650, pl. XI-XIII ... he says 'un trait frèquent du costume Minoen est le aidiothylakos' (645) and that 'cette pièce, dont la présence est souvent très prononcée' (645). This is followed by a discussion on the types of male Minoan dress as presented on the bronze figurines.  
  
In 'Χαλκινοι Μινωικοί Λατρείς της Συλλογής Μεταξά', AE, 1977 (1979),

- 109-127, pl.24-28, Davaras discusses (125) 'Ὁ μινωικός αἰδοιο-  
θυλακός', the use of the word and its derivation.
171. Μινωικόν Ζῶμα, 1971, 30-45.
172. ibid., 46-52.
173. ibid., 53-63.
174. ibid., 64-78.
175. ibid., 88, figs. 16-20, pl.2, 12, 13a, 14a, 15a-g, 16, 17,  
Ζώνη μετα αἰδοιοθυλακός.
176. ibid., 122, pl.426, Περιζῶμα ἐκ δερματος ζώου. In between types  
A<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>1</sup> above are the following types: Type B<sup>1</sup>, Περιζῶμα  
σχηματος βραχείας <<φουστας>> (92, figs. 24-29), i.e. a girdle  
with covering skirt; Type Γ<sup>1</sup> a thick girdle covering front and  
back but leaving the thighs exposed (98, figs. 30-32); Type Δ,  
Τύπος Πισκοκεφάλου, i.e. Piskokephalo type (101, fig.33, pl.17B);  
Type E<sup>1</sup>, Επιτραχηλίον ἢ ἐπιστηθίον i.e. a girdle with shoulder  
straps (101-104, figs. 33-36); Type ΣΤ<sup>1</sup> Χλαίνα i.e. cloak (104-  
110, figs. 38-40); Type Ζ<sup>1</sup> Περιζῶμα πεταλοειδές καὶ λογχοειδές  
i.e. girdle with petal-shaped and/or spear-shaped flaps at front  
and back (110-115, figs. 41-55); Type Η<sup>1</sup>, a girdle with flaps ex-  
tending to just above the knees (115-120, figs. 56-59, pls..21, 22,  
23, 24); Type Θ<sup>1</sup> Περιζῶμα τύπου περισκελίδος i.e. girdle with  
short trousers (120-122, fig.62).
177. Evans in PMII, 33, discusses Early Minoan costume and its deri-  
vation ... 'It is even possible that the mantled attire of women  
such as is seen among the pre-dynastic ivories of Hierakonpolis  
had a lasting influence on the Cretan women's dress. The natural  
effect of such a thick wrap (fig. 14 a1, a2, b, c, d) is that it  
rests in a cape-like fashion behind the neck, and this feature is

very clearly brought out in the Minoan female costume ... In the case of the Hierakonpolis figure there was clearly some kind of skirt beneath it, which in the figure from a tholos tomb at Koumasa (14c) bulges out considerably ...' ... For convenience the Minoan women fastened the cloak round the waist with a cord, sometimes ending in tassles and seems to have made slits or even short sleeves for the arms ... The Middle Minoan type of women's costume as seen at Petsopha is an offshoot of the same stock ... The parallels with the pre-dynastic figurines for female and male figurines of the Pre-palatial period that Evans used can be disputed on chronological grounds, if nothing else. However, Evans' observations of Early Minoan dress and its development in the succeeding period are valid, and important to note.

178. ibid. As indeed Evans noted.
179. So named after its resemblance to a large bowl, base on top of the head and thus open, above.
180. Myres, J.L., in BSA 9, 1902, p.367, noted after his examination of the material that 'The normal type of the female figurines, which are much fewer than the males, is bell-shaped or conical from the waist downward, to represent the full skirts of the Aegean costume'.
181. Evans, A., in PMI, 1921, 153, says of the female figurines found on Petsopha that they wore 'a skirt and girdle and a bodice open at the breast and rising into a 'Medici' collar behind'. The latter term is commonly used today to refer to this high peaked collar behind the neck.
182. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 110, discusses 'Les Cordes' (belts) on the bronze female figurines.



183. As noted by Myres from his examination of the figurines from Petsopha, BSA 9, 1902, 367.
184. ibid., 370-372. Myres reported the following information: 'The most noteworthy feature of the female figurines, however, is their head-gear, which is very peculiar and I think quite unparalleled ...' 'Three distinct variants are represented by single examples: one lady (pl.XI, No.16) has crimped the brim of her hat, and added three large rosettes, represented by pellets, in the recess thus formed beneath the brim ... The second (pl. XI, No.17 and 20) shows a less fanciful type worn much further forward on the head and suggestive of a funnel-shaped 'polos' like the late Mycenaean head-gear. The third variant (371, pl. XI, No.15) is equally instructive. The hat is worn fairly well forward ... but the brim is turned up all round so as to form a deep bowl' (this is the open-bowl-shaped hat referred to in this thesis).
185. ibid. This type was also noted by Myres and seen in his reconstruction drawing of complete female figurines in pl.IX.
186. See Table 25. for details of all the heads from Piskokephalo.
187. Evans, A., PMI, 1921, 153, noted that 'the male figurines are nude except for their girdle and foot gear ... Sometimes they wear a small disc-like cap ...'.
- Myres, 1902, op.cit., 363-4, noted that the male costume was 'almost always limited to the Aegean loin-cloth and a pair of boots' ... 'The loin-cloth appears to have consisted of three distinct parts: - the loin-cloth itself; a white wrapper or kilt (like that of the Keftio in Egyptian representations) worn over it; and a knotted girdle which secured the whole. The loin-cloth



itself is represented uniformly by a pronounced roll of clay which runs vertically downwards in front from the middle point of the belt and disappears from view between the thighs' .... 'The girdle ... often shows clear traces of knot with dependent ends which is usually placed in the median line but occasionally on the right hip ... In other examples the girdle is represented only in paint, and then shows a double strand, through the loop of which the free ends pass to form a slip-knot'.

E. Sakellorakis' more detailed survey (see n.171-n.176 above) identified the belt and codpiece as one type (Type A<sup>1</sup>) and the girdle and short kilt as another type (Type B<sup>1</sup>). The latter is undoubtedly the best represented in the evidence and is executed both in relief and in paint (see her plate nos. 4-11 and figs. 21-29 for the method of construction).

188. E. Sakellarakis, 1971, op.cit., 96, pl.9. He wears a Type B girdle and short kilt beneath the large dagger.
189. As in the Vapheio Cups and as seen in frescoes e.g. the Cup-bearer from Knossos (Evans, A., PMII, 725, pl.XII, fig.452) and the Procession Fresco (Evans, op.cit., 723, fig.450), seal impressions from Hagia Triadha (e.g. Nilsson, MMR, 1950, 346, fig.157, Evans, PMII, 769, fig.500) and Zakro (e.g. JHS, Vol.22, 1902, 77, Fig.1, No.1, pl.VI) depict males with a short kilt (the former) and belt and codpiece(?) (the latter).
190. E. Sakellarakis, 1971, op.cit., 101, pl.17B. Type Δ. Sakellarakis recognises that the examples from Piskokephalo are the only representations of this type. She sees similarities here with Egyptian clothing, as Forster did before here (Praesos, the Terra-cottas, BSA 8, 1901-2, 274).

191. See Part III, Chapter 10 and Table 27.
192. *KN1-3* from Knossos only, figs. 113 and 114
193. As for example No.184 of Type RR4 from Agia Triadha or No.173 of Type SS4 from Psychro (pls.187)
194. As in No.*PK1* of Type UU4 from Palaikastro.
195. As in the example from Kophinas of Type TT4. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 104-107, discusses the four types of skirts (Jupes); Type 1: Les Jupes portefeuille à volants (33-35); Type 2: Les jupes à lignes ou volants horizontaux (37); Type 3: Les jupes en fourrure et en peau; Type 4: Les jupes à plis tateraux (67, 71, 72). Type 3 is the only one not represented in this thesis.
196. Schachermeyr, 'Die Minoische Kultur des Alten Kreta', 1964, 143, fig.68. In the fresco of the 'Ladies in Blue' from Knossos (Evans, PMI, 1921, 547, fig.397), we see the women wearing the same type of richly embroidered bodices and skirts, but here, painted in blue.
197. See note 197 above. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 96-7, identifies these two types. Type 1, 'chevelures nouées dans le dos' (Nos. 33-36) and Type 2, 'chevelures tombants librement dans les dos' (No. 37).
198. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 98-99 for 'Les vêtements d'hommes' (21-31). She identifies in the bronze figurines two types of codpiece (suspensoire): Type 1: 'rigide' and Type 2 'souple' and two types of loincloth (pagnes) with varieties e.g. Type 1 a, b, c and Type 2. No. 172 of Type CC4.I from Psychro presented in this thesis provides us with a good example of the longer apron in front with only a short flap at the back covering the buttocks.

The dress of these figurines correspond to Sakellarakis' (1971, op.cit., 110-120) Types Z<sup>1</sup>, a girdle with petal-shaped and/or lance-shaped flaps at front and back and extending to just above the knees (pls. 26, 27) and type H<sup>1</sup>, a girdle with flaps extending to the knees, covering the thighs and with the waists left loosely tied (pls. 21-24).

199. As in type EE5 represented by an example from Juktas (cf. Karetsoy, A., Ergon, 1980 (1981), 46f., fig. 102).
200. See Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., 102, 'Les chaussures' Nos. 24, 30 and 31, pl.10, 14, 15 respectively.
201. See Note 189 above. Interestingly enough this longer apron noted on bronze figurines has no iconographic parallels in any period.
202. Verlinden, C., 1983, op.cit., pl. 14 and 15, Nos. 30 and 31, and Sakellarakis, E., 1971, op.cit., pls. 21 and 22.
203. Evans related the loosely held girdle to children and older persons cf. PMIII, 446 (for children), 449, 450, 461 (for older persons).

CONCORDANCE



SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF.NO	MUS.& NO.	PUBL. NO.
Agia Triadha	A	1	Fig.1, p159 Pl. 1	HM 121	123
	A	2	Pl. 2 p159	HM 118	124
	A	3	Pl. 3 p160	HM 116	128
	A	4	Pl. 4 p160	HM 120	129
	A	125	Fig.11b p162	-	125
	A	126	Fig.11a p162	HM 117	126
	B	5	Fig.1 p164 Pl. 7	HM 115	127
	F.I	6	Fig.3 p173 Pl. 15	HM 126	134a
	J.VII	7	Fig.10 p188 Pl. 25	HM 124	130
	J.VII	131	Fig.22 p189	HM 125	131
	AA	8	Fig.23 p190 Pl. 26	HM 114	132
	AA	9	Pl. 27 p190	HM 127	134
	AA	10	Pl. 28 p191	HM 123	133
Agios Kyrillos	DD2.II	AKI	Fig 70 p252	HM -	-
Archanes	B	ARI	Fig. 14a p168	HM 1101	-
	B	AR2	- p168	HM 1102	-
	B	AR3	- p168	HM 1103	-
	J.I	AR4	Fig. 18a p178	HM -	-
	J.I	AR5	- p178	HM -	-
	J.I	AR6	Fig. 19a p178	HM -	-
	J.I	AR7	Fig. 18c p179	HM -	-
	J.I	AR8	Fig.19b p179	HM -	-
	J.I	AR9	- p179	HM -	-
	J.II	AR10	Fig. 8 p185	HM -	-
	J.III	AR11	Fig. 7 p186	HM -	-
	EE	AR12	Fig. 28 p196	HM -	-
	CC4.I	AR13	- p376	HM 2508	-
	CC4.I	AR14	- p376	HM -	-

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF.NO	MUS.& NO.	PUBL. NO.
Gournes	BB	GOU1	p193 Fig. 27c	HM -	-
Kalathiana	AA	182	p192 Fig. 27a	HM -	182
Kamilari	BB3	11	Fig. 78,p288 Pl. 137	HM 10574	F.2634
	CC3	12	p289 Pl. 138	HM 10572	F.2633
	RR3	13	p303 Pl. 156	HM 15073	F.2632
Koumasa	A	14	p161 Pl. 5	HM 130	130
	B	131	p168 Fig. 14b	HM -	131
	J.I	15	Fig. 6,p180 Pl. 18	HM 125	125
	J.I	16	p180 Pl. 19	HM 127	127
	J.I	17	p181 Pl. 20	HM 126	126
	J.I	18	p181 Pl. 21	HM 123	123
	J.I	124	p183 -	HM -	124
	J.II	19	p184 Pl. 24	HM 122	122
	BB	20	Fig. 23,p192 Pl. 30	HM 135	135
	BB	21	p193 Pl. 31	HM 128	128
	BB	525	p192 -	HM -	525
	BB	129	p193 Fig. 27b	HM -	129
	CC	22	p194 Fig. 23	HM 4308	4308
	CC	23	p194 Pl. 32	HM 4307	4307
	CC	24	p195 Pl. 33	HM 4306	4306
	DD	25	p195 Fig. 24	HM 5050	5050
	EE	26	Fig. 24,p196 Pl. 34	HM 5655	5055
	FF	27	Fig. 25,p197 Pl. 35	HM 4998	4998
Lebena	A	LEB1	p163 Fig. 11c	HM -	-
	G.I	LEB2	p176 Fig. 17	HM -	-
	G.III	LEB3	p176 Fig. 5	HM -	-
	G.III	LEB4	p176 -	HM -	-
	J.I	LEB5	p184 Fig. 20d	HM -	-

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF. NO.	MUS. & NO.	PUBL. NO.
Lebena (cont.)	J.I	LEB6	p184 -	HM -	-
	J.I	LEB7	p184 -	HM -	-
Lendas	K	LEN1	Fig. 6 p189	HM -	-
Mochlos	225.II	28	Fig. 119 p104 Pl. 195	HM 5584	-
Platanos	A	29	p161 Pl. 6	HM 223	223
	A	222	p163 Fig. 11d	HM -	222
	B	30	p164 Pl. 8	HM 229	229
	J.I	31	p182 Pl. 22	HM 224	224
	AA	32	p191 Pl. 29	HM 230	230
Porti	B	33	p165 Pl. 9	HM 173	173
	C	34	Fig. 2, p163 Pl. 12	HM 172	172
	BB2	35	Fig. 37 Pl. 49, p233	HM 171	171
Pyrgos	A	PYR1	p163 Fig. 12	HM -	-
	B	PYR2	p166 Fig. 13a	HM -	-
	B	PYR3	p167 Fig. 13b	HM 255	-
	B	PYR4	p167 Fig. 13c	HM 256	-
	C	PYR5	p170 Fig. 15d	HM 257	-
	C	PYR6	p170 Fig. 15c	HM 258	-
	C	PYR7	p171 Fig. 15b	HM -	-
	J.I	PYR8	p183 -	HM -	-
Siva	J.VII	SIV.1	-	-	-
Agios Onouphrios	G.I	AO.1	p176 Fig. 4	-	-
	G.I	AO.2	p176 -	-	-
	G.II	AO.3	p176 Fig. 4	-	-
	H	AO.4	p177 Fig. 5	-	-
Tekes	J.I	TK1	p184 Fig. 20a	-	-
	J.I	TK2	p184 Fig. 20b	-	-
	J.I	TK3	p184 Fig. 20c	-	-

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF. NO.	MUS. & NO.	PUBL. NO.
Tekes (cont.)	J.IV	TK4	p186 Fig. 9	-	-
	J.V	TK5	p187 Fig. 9	-	-
	J.VI	TK6	p187 Fig. 10	-	-
Arvi	NN2.I	36	p263 Pl. 83	AM 425	-
Juktas	AA2.I	J1	p228 Fig. 35	HM	-
	AA2.II	37	p228 Fig. 66b	HM 21912	-
	AA2.II	J2	p230 Fig. 66a	HM -	-
	DD2.I	38	p248 Fig. 69	HM -	-
	DD2.I	J3	p251 Fig. 69	HM -	-
	EE2	39	p252 Fig. 41	HM 21273	-
	JJ2.I	40	p257 Fig. 73	HM 22108	-
	JJ2.II	41	p261 Fig. 56	HM 21325	-
	FF3	J4	p292 Fig. 81	HM -	-
	FF3	J5	p292 Fig. 96a	HM -	-
	QQ3.I	J6	p302 Fig. 96c	HM -	-
	QQ3.I	J7	p302 Fig. 96d	HM -	-
	QQ3.II	42	p303 Fig. 86	HM 21933	-
	CC4.III	J8	p379 Fig. 101	HM -	-
	EE4	J9	p382 Fig. 104	HM -	-
	DD5	J10	p403 Fig. 118	HM -	-
	EE5	J11	p403 Fig. 118	HM -	-
Kophinas	AA2.II	43	Fig. 35 Pl. 36, p229	HM 14171	-
	CC2.I	44	Fig. 38 Pl. 50, p238	HM 14158	-
	CC2.I	45	p239 Pl. 51	HM 14169	-
	CC2.I	46	p239 Pl. 52	HM 14170	-
	CC2.I	47	p240 Pl. 53	HM 14205	-
	CC2.I	48	p240 Pl. 54	HM 14241	-
	CC2.I	49	p241 Pl. 55	HM 14247	-



SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF. NO.	MUS. & NO.	PUBL. NO.
Kophinas (cont.)	CC2.I	50	p241 -	HM 14249	-
	CC2.II	51	p242 Pl. 57	HM 14157	-
	CC2.II	52	p343 Pl. 58	HM 14174	-
	CC2.II	53	p243 Pl. 59	HM 14204	-
	CC2.II	54	Fig. 54 Pl. 60, p244	HM 14243	-
	CC2.II	55	Fig. 38 Pl. 61, p244	HM 14245	-
	CC2.II	56	p245 Pl. 62	HM 14251	-
	CC2.II	57	p246 Pl. 63	HM 14253	-
	DD2.I	58	p248 Pl. 65	HM 14140	-
	FF2	59	Fig. 41 Pl. 70, p253	HM 14261	-
	GG2	60	p254 Fig. 42	HM 14264	-
	GG3.II	61	Fig. 81, p293 Pl. 140,	HM 14222	-
	II3	62	Fig. 83, p294 Pl. 142	HM 14160	-
	KK3	63	Fig. 83, p296 Pl. 144	HM 14192	-
	NN3	64	Fig. 84, p297 Pl. 146	HM 14147	-
	NN3	65	p298 Pl. 147	HM 14155	-
	PP3	66	Fig. 85, p298 Pl. 148	HM 14148	-
	PP3	67	p299 Pl. 149	HM 14252	-
	UU2.I	68	Fig. 54 Pl. 98, p278	HM 14203	-
	ZZ3.III	69	Fig. 88, p307 Pl. 164	HM 14129	-
	ZZ3.IV	70	Fig. 89, p307 Pl. 165	HM 14127	-
	ZZ3.V	71	Fig. 89, p307 Pl. 166	HM 14181	-
	ZZ3.VI	72	Fig. 89, p308 Pl. 167	HM 14186	-
	ZZ3.VI	73	p308 Pl. 168	HM 14191	-
	ZZ3.VI	74	p308 Pl. 169	HM 14150	-
	ZZ3.VIII	75	Fig. 90, p309 Pl. 170	HM 14218	-
Maza	AA2.V	76	Fig. 37 Pl. 47, p237	HM 9849	-
	CC2.II	77	p246 Pl. 64	HM 9857	-

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF. NO.	MUS. & NO.	PUBL. NO.
Maza (cont.)	HH3	78	Fig. 82, p254 Pl. 141	HM 9856	-
	JJ2.I	79	Pl. 77 <sup>p257</sup>	HM 9863	-
	JJ2.I	80	Pl. 78 <sup>p258</sup>	HM 9864	-
	QQ2	81	Pl. 86 <sup>p269</sup>	HM 9864	-
	ZZ3.I	82	Pl. 158 <sup>p306</sup>	HM 9855	-
	ZZ3.I	83	Pl. 159 <sup>p306</sup>	HM 9855	-
	ZZ3.I	84	Pl. 160 <sup>p306</sup>	HM 9855	-
	ZZ3.I	85	Pl. 161 <sup>p306</sup>	HM 9865	-
Petsopha	A2	86	Fig. 31a <sup>p219</sup>	ANM -	-
	A2	87	Fig. 31b <sup>p219</sup>	ANM -	-
	B2	88	Fig. 31 <sup>p219</sup>	ANM 10554	-
	AA2.III	89	Pl. 38 <sup>p231</sup>	AM 1010	-
	AA2.III	90	Pl. 39 <sup>p231</sup>	AM 999	-
	AA2.III	91	Pl. 40 <sup>p232</sup>	HM 3413	-
	CC2.I	92	Pl. 56 <sup>p242</sup>	HM 9854	-
	DD2.I	93	Fig. 40 Pl. 66, p249	HM 3407	-
	DD2.I	94	Pl. 67 <sup>p249</sup>	HM 3405	-
	DD2.II	95	Fig. 40 Pl. 68, p251	HM 3494	-
	II2	96	Fig. 44 Pl. 76, p256	HM 4873	-
	JJ2.I	97	Fig. 45 Pl. 79, p259	HM 3431	-
	KK2	98	Fig. 46 Pl. 81, p261	ANM 9960 <sup>Φ</sup>	-
	LL2	99	Fig. 47 Pl. 82, p262	HM 3439	-
	NN2.I	100	Pl. 84 <sup>p264</sup>	HM 2437	-
	NN2.I	101	Fig. 75 <sup>p265</sup>	HM 10161	-
	QQ2	102	Pl. 87 <sup>p269</sup>	HM 9860	-
	QQ2	103	Pl. 88 <sup>p270</sup>	HM 9861	-
	QQ2	104	Fig. 50 Pl. 89, p271	HM 9859	-
	SS	105	Fig. 87; p304 Pl. 157	HM 3426	-

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF. NO.	MUS. & NO.	PUBL. NO.
Petsopha (cont.)	WW2	106	p280 Fig. 57	HM 7718	-
Piskokephalo	AA2.IV	107	p233 Pl. 41	HM 9753	-
	AA2.IV	108	Fig. 36, p233 Pl. 42	HM 9756	-
	AA2.IV	109	p234 Pl. 43	HM 9757	-
	AA2.IV	110	p234 Pl. 44	HM 9758	-
	AA2.IV	111	p235 Pl. 45	HM 9759	-
	AA2.IV	112	p235 Pl. 46	HM 9842	-
	EE3	113	Fig. 80, p291 Pl. 139	HM 9752	-
	HH2	114	Fig. 43, p255 Pl. 71	HM 9825	-
	JJ3	115	Fig. 83, p295 Pl. 143	HM 9754	-
	TT2.I	116	Fig. 52, p273 Pl. 91	HM 9764	-
	TT2.I	117	p273 Pl. 92	HM 9777	-
	TT2.II	118	Fig. 52, p274 Pl. 93	HM 9751	-
	TT2.III	119	Fig. 53, p276 Pl. 94	HM 9778	-
	TT2.IV	120	Fig. 53, p276 Pl. 95	HM 9768	-
	TT2.IV	121	p277 Pl. 96	HM 9767	-
	TT2.IV	122	p277 Pl. 97	HM 9768	-
	YY2.I	123	Fig. 58, p282 Pl. 102	HM 9773	-
	ZZ2.I	124	Fig. 61, p283 Pl. 105	HM 9732	-
	ZZ2.II	125	Fig. 61, p283 Pl. 106	HM 9736	-
	ZZ2.II	126	p310 Pl. 107	HM 9737	-
	ZZ2.II	127	p310 Pl. 112	HM 9838	-
	ZZ2.II	128	p311 Pl. 108	HM 9739	-
	ZZ2.II	129	p311 Pl. 109	HM 9740	-
	ZZ2.II	130	p311 Pl. 110	HM 9741	-
	ZZ2.II	131	p311 Pl. 111	HM 9742	-
	ZZ2.II	132	p312 Pl. 114	HM 9743	-
	ZZ2.II	133	p312 Pl. 115	HM 9734	-



SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF. NO.	MUS. & NO.	PUBL. NO.
Piskokephalo (cont.)	ZZ2.III	134	p283 Fig. 62 Pl. 116	HM 9731	-
	ZZ2.IV	135	p284 Fig. 63 Pl. 117	HM 9744	-
	ZZ2.V	136	p284 Fig. 63 Pl. 118	HM 9730	-
	ZZ2.VI	137	p284 Fig. 64 Pl. 119	HM 9746	-
	ZZ3.IX	138	p313 Fig. 91 Pl. 120	HM 9713	-
	ZZ3.X	139	p313 Fig. 91 Pl. 121	HM 9719	-
	ZZ3.XI	140	p314 Fig. 91 Pl. 122	HM 9721	-
	ZZ3.XII	141	p314 Fig. 92 Pl. 123	HM 9723	-
	ZZ3.XIII	142	p314 Fig. 92 Pl. 124	HM 9748	-
	ZZ3.XIV	143	p314 Fig. 93 Pl. 125	HM 9714	-
	ZZ3.XV	144	p315 Fig. 93 Pl. 126	HM 9717	-
	ZZ3.XVI	145	p315 Fig. 94 Pl. 127	HM 9722	-
	ZZ3.XVII	146	p315 Fig. 94 Pl. 128	HM 9747	-
	ZZ3.XVIII	147	p315 -	HM 9724	-
	ZZ3.XIX	148	p316 Fig. 94 Pl. 129	HM 9726	-
	ZZ3.XX	149	Fig. 95 Pl. 130	HM 9718	-
	ZZ3.XXI	150	p316 Fig. 95 Pl. 131	HM 9715	-
Prinias	CC2.III	151	p247 Fig. 39	ANM 5972	-
	GG3.I	152	p293 Fig. 81	ANM -	-
	NN2.II	153	p267 Fig. 49	ANM 5897	-
	SS2	154	p272 Fig. 51	ANM 5934	-
	YY2.II	155	p282 Fig. 59 Pl. 103a	ANM 5933	-
Traostalos	AA2.II	156	p229 Fig. 66c	ANM	-
	AA2.IV	157	p236 Fig. 67b	ANM	-
	AA2.IV	158	p236 Fig. 67a	ANM -	-
	DD3	159	p290 Fig. 79	HM 16439	-
	EE2	160	p253 Fig. 71	ANM -	-
	GG2	161	p254 Fig. 72	HM 16475	-



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Traostalos (cont.)	NN2.I	162	p265 Fig. 48	HM 16444	-
	NN2.I	163	p266 -	HM 16474	-
	PP4	164	p389 Fig. 108 Pl. 187	HM 16575	-
	TT2.I	165	p274 Fig. 76	ANM -	-
	TT2.II	166	p275 Fig. 76	ANM 6994	-
	VV2	167	p280 Fig. 56	HM 16465	-
	YY2.III	168	p282 Fig. 60	HM 16446	-
	ZZ3.II	169	p307 Fig. 88	ANM -	-
Psychro	BB4	170	p374 Fig.100 Pl. 176	AM 621	AE621
	CC4.I	171	p375 Pl. 177	AM 605	AE605
	CC4.I	172	p375 Fig.100 Pl. 178	AM 23	AE 23
	RR4	173	p391 Pl. 188	AM 596	AE 596
	SS4	174	p393 Fig.110 Pl. 190	AM 597	AE 597
Trapeza	B	175	p165 Pl. 10	HM 310	No.3
	B	176	p166 Pl. 11	HM 311	No.4
	C	177	p169 Pl. 13	HM 308	No.2
	C	178	p169 Pl. 14	HM 309	No.5
	C	TR1	p171 Fig. 15a		No.1
	D	TR6	p172 Fig. 2	-	No.6
	D	TR7	p172 Fig. 2	-	No.7
	F.I	179	p173 Pl. 16	HM 230	No.13
	F.I	180	p174 Pl. 17	HM 273	No.9
	F.I	TR8	p175 -	-	No.8
	F.I	TR11	p175 -	-	No.11
	F.I	TR12	p175 -	-	No.12
	GG.I	TR14	p199 Fig. 29a	-	No.14
Agia Triadha Villa	CC5	181	p402 Fig.117 Pl. 193	HM 1809	-
	KK4	182	p387 Fig.107 Pl. 184	HM 19064	-

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF.NO	MUS.& NO.	PUBL. NO.
Agia Triadha Villa (cont.)	NN4	183	p388 Fig.108 Pl. 186	HM 1804	-
	RR4	184	p391 Fig.110 Pl. 189	HM 760	-
	QQ4	AT1	p389 Fig.109b	HM -	8a
	QQ4	AT2	p389 Fig.109a	HM -	8b
	QQ4	AT3	p389 -	HM -	8c
Chamaizi	AA3	185	p287 Fig.77 Pl. 135	HM 3488	-
	AA3	186	p287 Pl. 136	HM 3484	-
	PP2	187	p268 Fig. 49 Pl. 85	HM 3489	-
Knossos	G3	188	p369 Fig. 99 Pl. 172	SMK RV61585	-
	H3	189	p369 Pl. 173	SMK RR/61/323	-
	H3	190	p370 Fig. 99 Pl. 174	SMK RR/61/128	-
	LL3	191	p296 Fig. 84 Pl. 145	SMK RR/59/152	-
	LL4	192	p387 Fig.107 Pl. 185	SMK HH/57/92	-
	QQ3.I	193	p299 Fig. 86 Pl. 150	SMK RR/59/120	-
	QQ3.I	194	p300 Pl. 151	SMK HH/58/193	-
	QQ3.I	195	p301 Pl. 152	SMK RR/59/158	-
	QQ3.I	196	p301 Pl. 153	SMK RR/59/184	-
	QQ3.I	197	p301 Pl. 154	SMK RR/58/707	-
	QQ3.I	198	p302 Pl. 155	SMK RV6 1585	-
	RR2	199	p271 Pl. 50 Pl. 90	AM 991	AE991
	UU2.I	200	p279 Fig.55 Pl. 99	SMK HH/58/156	
	UU2.II	201	p279 Fig.55 Pl. 100	SMK LG1/57/16	
	WW4	KN1	p397 Fig. 113	HM -	-
	WW4	KN2	p398 Fig.114	HM -	-
	ZZ2.IX	202	p285 Fig.64 Pl. 134	HM 9248	-
	ZZ3.I	203	p306 Pl.162	HM 14281	
	ZZ3.VII	KN3	p309 Fig.90	HM -	-
Mallia	A3	204	p366 Fig.97b	FSM E63/22	E63/23:91

SITE	TYPE	FIG. NO.	PAGE REF.NO	MUS.& NO.	PUBL. NO.
Mallia (cont.)	B3	205	p366 Fig.97	FSM E63/28	E63/25:270
	C2	206	p220 Fig.31	FSM M67/F7	M67/F7:139
	D2	207	p220 Fig.32	FSM M67/F5	M67/F5:137
	D3	208	p367 Fig.98	FSM E63/26	E63/19:90
	E2.I	209	p221 Fig.32	FSM M67/F4	M67/F4:136
	E2.II	210	p221 Fig.32	FSM M67/F2	M67/F2:134
	F2	211	p222 Fig.33	FSM M67/F3	M67/F3:135
	F3	280	p368 Fig.98	FSM -	280
	G2	212	p222 Fig.34	FSM M67/F1	M67/F1:133
	I	MAL 1	p177 Fig.6	-	P.56,14
	BB5	213	p401 Fig.116	M 3358	No.2:3b
	DD2.I	MAL 2	p250 Fig.69	-	P57
	GG4	22.170	p384 Fig.120	HM 22.170	22.170
	TT3	22.134	p305 Fig.87	HM 22.134	22.134
	ZZ2.X	214	p286 Fig.65	FSM M68/F18	M68/F18:140
Myrtos	E	215	p173 Fig.3	ANM 7081	No.6
	F.II	216	p175 Fig.3	ANM 7080	No.69
	J.I	217	p180 Fig.18b	ANM -	No.5
	GG.I	218	p198 Fig.30	ANM 7083	No.2
	GG.I	219	p198 Fig.30	ANM 7084	No.1
	GG.II	220	p199 Fig.26	ANM 7086	No.3
	GG.II	MYR1	p200 Fig.29	-	No.4
	HH	221	p201 Fig.26	ANM 7082	No.70
Phaistos	HH4	222	p384Fig.105 Pl.18	HM 1773	-
	II4	223	p385Fig.106 Pl.182	HM 1779	-
	JJ2.I	PHI.1	p260 Fig.74	HM -	F.2682
	JJ4	224	p386Fig.106 Pl.182	HM 11221	-
	XX2	225	p281Fig.57 Pl.101	HM 2680	F.2679

[illegible]



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P1.7	Agia Triadha	No.5	P1.41	Piskokephalo	No.107
P1.8	Platanos	No.30	P1.42	Piskokephalo	No.108
P1.9	Porti	No.33	P1.43	Piskokephalo	No.109
P1.10	Trapeza	No.175	P1.44	Piskokephalo	No.110
P1.11	Trapeza	No.176	P1.45	Piskokephalo	No.111
P1.12	Porti	No.34	P1.46	Piskokephalo	No.112
P1.13	Trapeza	No.177	P1.47	Maza	No.76
P1.14	Trapeza	No.178	P1.48	Zakros	No.231
P1.15	Agia Triadha	No.6	P1.49	Porti	No.35
P1.16	Trapeza	No.179	P1.50	Kophinas	No.44
P1.17	Trapeza	No.180	P1.51	Kophinas	No.45
P1.18	Koumasa	No.15	P1.52	Kophinas	No.46
P1.19	Koumasa	No.16	P1.53	Kophinas	No.47
P1.20	Koumasa	No.17	P1.54	Kophinas	No.48
P1.21	Koumasa	No.18	P1.55	Kophinas	No.49
P1.22	Platanos	No.31	P1.56	Petsopha	No.92
P1.23	Siteia	No.227	P1.57	Kophinas	No.51
P1.24	Koumasa	No.19	P1.58	Kophinas	No.52
P1.25	Agia Triadha	No.7	P1.59	Kophinas	No.53
P1.26	Agia Triadha	No.8	P1.60	Kophinas	No.54
P1.27	Agia Triadha	No.9	P1.61	Kophinas	No.55
P1.28	Agia Triadha	No.10	P1.62	Kophinas	No.56
P1.29	Platanos	No.32	P1.63	Kophinas	No.57
P1.30	Koumasa	No.20	P1.64	Maza	No.77
P1.31	Koumasa	No.21	P1.65	Kophinas	No.58
P1.32	Koumasa	No.23	P1.66	Petsopha	No.93
P1.33	Koumasa	No.24	P1.67	Petsopha	No.94
P1.34	Koumasa	No.26	P1.68	Petsopha	No.95

P1.69	Piskokephalo -	P1.102	Piskokephalo No.123
P1.70	Kophinas No.59	P1.103	Prinias No.155
P1.71	Piskokephalo No.114	P1.104	Petsopha - (Agios Nikolaos Museum exhibit)
P1.72	Piskokephalo - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	P1.105	Piskokephalo No.124
P1.73	Kophinas - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	P1.106	Piskokephalo No.125
P1.74	Kophinas - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	P1.107	Piskokephalo No.126
P1.75	Petsopha - (Agios Nikolaos Museum exhibit)	P1.108	Piskokephalo No.128
		P1.109	Piskokephalo No.129
P1.76	Petsopha No.96	P1.110	Piskokephalo No.130
P1.77	Maza No.79	P1.111	Piskokephalo No.131
P1.78	Maza No.80	P1.112	Piskokephalo No.127
P1.79	Petsopha No.97	P1.113	Piskokephalo - HM9837
P1.80	Zakros No.235	P1.114	Piskokephalo No.132
P1.81	Petsopha No.98	P1.115	Piskokephalo No.133
P1.82	Petsopha No.99	P1.116	Piskokephalo No.134
P1.83	Arvi No.36	P1.117	Piskokephalo No.135
P1.84	Petsopha No.100	P1.118	Piskokephalo No.136
P1.85	Chamaiza No.187	P1.119	Piskokephalo No.137
P1.86	Maza No.85	P1.120	Piskokephalo No.138
P1.87	Petsopha No.102	P1.121	Piskokephalo No.139
P1.88	Petsopha No.103	P1.122	Piskokephalo No.140
P1.89	Petsopha No.104	P1.123	Piskokephalo No.141
P1.90	Knossos No.199	P1.124	Piskokephalo No.142
P1.91	Piskokephalo No.116	P1.125	Piskokephalo No.143
P1.92	Piskokephalo No.117	P1.126	Piskokephalo No.144
P1.93	Piskokephalo No.118	P1.127	Piskokephalo No.145
P1.94	Piskokephalo No.119	P1.128	Piskokephalo No.146
P1.95	Piskokephalo No.120	P1.129	Piskokephalo No.148
P1.96	Piskokephalo No.121	P1.130	Piskokephalo No.149
P1.97	Piskokephalo No.122	P1.131	Piskokephalo No.150
P1.98	Kophinas No.68	P1.132	Kophinas - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)
P1.99	Knossos No.200	P1.133	Kophinas - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)
P1.100	Knossos No.201	P1.134	Knossos No.202
P1.101	Phaistos No.225	P1.135	Chamaizi No.185



P1.136	Chamaizi	No.186	P1.172	Knossos	No.188
P1.137	Kamilari	No.11	P1.173	Knossos	No.189
P1.138	Kamilari	No.12	P1.174	Knossos	No.190
P1.139	Piskokephalo	No.113	P1.175	Zakros	No.232
P1.140	Kophinas	No.61	P1.176	Psychro	No.170
P1.141	Maza	No.78	P1.177	Psychro	No.171
P1.142	Kophinas	No.62	P1.178	Psychro	No.172
P1.143	Piskokephalo	No.115	P1.179	Skoteino - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	
P1.144	Kophinas	No.63	P1.180	Zakros	AMS 2615
P1.145	Knossos	No.191	P1.181	Phaistos	No.222
P1.146	Kophinas	No.64	P1.182	Phaistos	No.223
P1.147	Kophinas	No.65	P1.183	Phaistos	No.224
P1.148	Kophinas	No.66	P1.184	Agia Triadha	No.182
P1.149	Kophinas	No.67	P1.185	Knossos	No.192
P1.150	Knossos	No.193	P1.186	Agia Triadha	No.183
P1.151	Knossos	No.194	P1.187	Traostalos	No.164
P1.152	Knossos	No.195	P1.188	Psychro	No.173
P1.153	Knossos	No.196	P1.189	Agia Triadha	No.184
P1.154	Knossos	No.197	P1.190	Psychro	No.174
P1.155	Knossos	No.198	P1.191	Phaistos	No.226
P1.156	Kamilari	No.13	P1.192	Zakros	No.233
P1.157	Petsopha	No.105	P1.193	Agia Triadha	No.181
P1.158	Maza	No.82	P1.194	Zakros	No.237
P1.159	Maza	No.83	P1.195	Mochlos	No.28
P1.160	Maza	No.84	P1.196	Piskokephalo - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	
P1.161	Maza	No.85	No.197	Petsopha feet - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	
P1.162	Zakros	No.236	P1.198	Palaikastro - (Herakleion Museum exhibit)	
P1.163	Knossos	-			
P1.164	Kophinas	No.69			
P1.165	Kophinas	No.70			
P1.166	Kophinas	No.71			
P1.167	Kophinas	No.72			
P1.168	Kophinas	No.3			
P1.169	Kophinas	No.74			
P1.170	Kophinas	No.75			
P1.171	Zakros	No.228			

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